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# SOCIAL JUSTICE REVIEW

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# SOCIAL JUSTICE REVIEW

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## NEW LIGHT ON CHINA

### I. THE COMMUNIST FAILURE OF 1925-1927

**A**N AMERICAN JOURNALIST in China, the author of a new book on China<sup>1</sup>), was a Trotskyist in 1934, having come to believe that Stalin had betrayed the cause of Marxism and had turned Lenin's legacy of Socialist Internationalism into a perversion of bureaucratic nationalism. Evidence of such betrayal seemed to be Stalin's attitude and directives to the Chinese Communist Party (C.C.P.) during the Chinese Revolution of 1925-27, which evidence the author, whilst in China, tried to ferret out and piece together with painstaking industry. The resulting book (virtually pp. 74 to 293 of the revised edition) was published in London in 1938 with a highly laudatory preface by Trotsky himself. Hitler's blitzkrieg destroyed plates and stock, so that only a few copies of the original book survive. This was a real loss, because an amount of almost unique documentary evidence for an otherwise obscure period in Chinese history (1925-27) had been collected by the author and placed on record in his book. In 1948 this collection of Chinese documents, pamphlets, articles and reports was turned over by him to the Hoover Institute at Stanford, which published a list of these materials under the title "Draft Survey of Materials Relating to Communism in China 1925-34, Collected by Harold L. Isaacs."

Since the author in the meantime had lost his faith in Marxism, whether Stalinist or Trotskyist, the revised edition of his book, published in 1951 by the Stanford University Press, lacks Trotsky's preface; two additional chapters on "The Imprint of the Chinese Revolution 1925-27" and "The Blind Alley of Totalitarianism" have also been substituted for the original final three chapters. Though the author's point of view has changed from Trotskyist Marxism to Democratic

Socialism, little has been changed in his original account of the events of 1925-27, since he has from the outset striven to be severely factual.

#### *Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin*

The book, therefore, has a considerable historical value, and its perusal can only be highly commended to the general reader, who will thereby gain a keen insight into Communism in general and the relationship between the Kremlin and China in particular. The first point he will realize—and it is a fundamental one—is that the Soviet regime in Russia from the "October Revolution" (Nov. 8, 1917) to Stalin's death (March 1, 1953) has been an 80% Stalin regime, since Lenin, who died on January 21, 1924, had only a 20% share in the shaping of it. Lenin and Trotsky (whom he expected to be his successor) were ideological fanatics, believing in Marxism and World Revolution. Stalin, on the other hand, was a cynic, who saw that the slogan of a "Proletarian Dictatorship" was mere eye-wash for an inevitably following bureaucratic dictatorship, of which he strove from the outset to make himself lord and master. Free of ideological illusions, Stalin reduced Marxist ideology to opium for the bamboozled masses and thus made himself head of a ruling class of State officials and party bureaucrats, without whom the running of a collectivized country is, of course, impossible. Soon realizing that Communism alone is apt to lose its appeal to those living under it, Stalin added to it the ideas of an imperialist rationalism and xenophobia, kept at fever-heat by the constant harping on the encirclement and aggression of wicked capitalistic foreign powers.

#### *Sun Yat-sen*

The second point to emerge is the relationship between Stalin and Chiang Kai-shek. The latter was a youth of 26 and a student at a military school in Tokyo when the Chinese Republic was

<sup>1</sup>) *The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution* by Harold L. Isaacs. Stanford University Press, Stanford, Calif. Revised Edition, 1951, pp. 395. \$5.00.

established in 1912. Of his life during the next ten years practically nothing is known. Isaacs says that, returning to China in 1912, Chiang at first attached himself to some general in Shanghai and later became a petty broker at the Shanghai stock exchange—his first contact with *la haute finance* of that city. Failing as a broker, he made for Canton and there joined the military staff of Sun Yat-sen, the Father of the Republic," who in 1921 had himself elected as President of the Republic—a leftist southern government at Canton, rivalling a militaristic northern government of war lords at Peking. In 1923 Sun sent Chiang to Moscow for six months to study Red army methods. On his return to Canton as an out-and-out radical, he became the darling of Sun's Russian advisers, who in 1924 set up the Whampoa Military Academy and made Chiang its director.

Shortly before his end and after ten years of futile struggles with Chinese war lords and greedy foreign powers, Sun had accepted in 1922 what he believed to be a disinterested offer of help by Russia, which *motu proprio* already in 1918 had cancelled the Tsarist "unequal treaties" with China. In 1923 Sun and Joffe, the Soviet envoy, issued a joint declaration that conditions for the establishment of Communism did not exist in China and that on the contrary the Chinese nationalist movement alone could achieve China's union and independence—aims which Russia was ready to support to the hilt by a supply of arms, money and advisers which indeed began to arrive at once in an ever growing stream. In the fall of 1923 Borodin arrived in Canton as adviser to the K.M.T., the C.C.P., like him, having received the Moscow directive to efface itself and work wholeheartedly for the K.M.T., which was to be the central force of the national revolution. The K.M.T. party and the army were now efficiently reorganized after the Russian model, and at the first National Congress of the K.M.T., held in January 1925, the party adopted a new program drawn up jointly by Sun and Borodin. The K.M.T., as founded by Sun, was, of course, originally a thoroughly "bourgeois" party, vaguely inspired by western radicalism and socialism. The bourgeois element of its membership was now to be safeguarded by an agreement that the proletarian masses should indeed be turned into a great revolutionary force, but that, whilst given a free hand against foreign employers, they should do nothing against those who were Chinese. Two months later, on March 12, 1925, Sun Yat-sen died.

### *The Masses Roused*

By this time the masses had been thoroughly stirred up by millenary visions of peace and plenty which were to materialize, once the wicked foreign exploiter had been chased out of the country. A strike in Shanghai mills led to British military intervention and a clash on May 30, 1925, in which a number of strikers were killed. Students joined the workers in huge demonstrations and soon the whole of China south of the Yangtze was seething with revolutionary frenzy. A general boycott of everything British was proclaimed, and the International Concession in Shanghai and the British colony of Hongkong were practically paralyzed. In the meantime Wang Chingwei had been made head of the K.M.T. and Chiang Kai-shek commander-in-chief of the army, with Galen Blucher as his chief of staff. The latter appointment was made in view of a "northern expedition," whereby the K.M.T. revolutionary army, helped by a general rising of the masses everywhere, was to chase out the various war lords and unite the whole of China under the K.M.T. government.

### *Chiang's Rise to Power*

In the meantime the Chinese moneyed classes in Shanghai were beginning to suffer under this upsurge of the masses, whom, to tell the truth, they had oppressed and exploited even more atrociously than foreign employers had ever done. Foreign and Chinese industrialists and bankers in Shanghai, therefore, began to negotiate how to halt the general strike that hurt them both. The Foreign Powers offered China tariff autonomy and an early end of extra-territoriality; the Shanghai Municipal Council coöpted three Chinese members. Emissaries were sent to Canton to sound out the K.M.T. leaders. Chiang, whilst shouting publicly: "Long live the Revolution!" began to see a way of ousting Wang Chingwei and gaining top-control. By January 1926 Chiang had gotten himself elected as member of the K.M.T. Central Committee and by a coup on March 20, 1926, arrested all leftist elements in Canton, thereby inducing Wang Chingwei to hand him the seal of office and to go on a little trip to Europe.

The curious point brought out by Isaacs in this affair is that it was made a subject of the Stalin-Trotsky struggle for power in Moscow. Trotsky maintained that the C.C.P. should separate from the K.M.T. and take the lead of the revolutionary

masses. Stalin insisted on his pact with the K.M.T., brushing aside Chiang's coup in Canton as merely an internal K.M.T. strife for mastery of the party, which did not impair Chiang's revolutionary reliability. A Comintern delegation to China, including Earl Browder, Tom Mann and Jacques Doriot, visited Canton in February, 1927, and, while there, hailed Chiang as the great leader of the revolution. Meanwhile the K.M.T. army had moved northwards; Chiang took up his headquarters at Nanchang (Kiangsi), whilst the K.M.T. civil government had shifted to Hankow.

Wang Chingwei returned from Europe on April 1 and joined the party at Hankow. Passing through Hangchow, Chiang offered obedience to him as K.M.T. head, which did not prevent the former from purging Hangchow of "extremists." Letting a Shantung war lord put down revolts of the workers at Shanghai in February and March, Chiang slowly encircled Shanghai, entering it ultimately from Nanking, thus making resistance of the Northern troops around Shanghai hopeless. By April 12, 1927, Chiang had completed all his maneuvers and effected his great coup at Shanghai, purging it of all Communist elements by a lightning stroke, all the easier to effect, as the bewildered masses still saw in Chiang the Moscow backed revolutionary liberator.

Chiang had played his cards well. The grateful Chinese money-lords of Shanghai did not make him a "loan" of \$10 millions for nothing. By this time, Chiang's defection from the revolutionary cause, of course, had become irrevocable, so that even Stalin had to recognize it. Trotsky once more pressed for a new directive to the C.C.P., setting the latter free from K.M.T. control and making it take the lead openly in what was left of the revolution. Again Stalin demurred. Chiang indeed had betrayed the cause, but there was left at Hankow the leftist wing of the K.M.T., which must now be backed to the full as China's true revolutionary center. Trotsky was overruled; in fact the end of the Stalin-Trotsky duel for supremacy was rapidly nearing its end. In the fall of the same year (1927) Trotsky was expelled from the Communist Party, eventually (in 1929) to be deported from Russia and (in 1940) to be assassinated in Mexico.

The Hankow K.M.T. leftist government's influence extended over central China, south of the Yangtze, an entirely agrarian region, whilst Chiang's rightist K.M.T. government (now cen-

tered in Nanking) held sway over the eastern coast including cities like Canton and Shanghai, which contained most of China's industrial proletariat. The Hankow K.M.T. was, therefore, now expected to head the agrarian revolution of land-hungry peasants in its region. But since the officers corps of its army was entirely composed of scions of the land-holding class, it insisted that no land belonging to a family connected with the army might be confiscated—a policy of frustration, which the C.C.P.—again under Moscow orders—was to help in carrying out.

### *Chiang's Conquest Completed*

Without going into all the fascinating details, for which one must refer the reader to Isaacs' book, it will suffice to say that at this time there had arisen a new war lord in N. W. China, Feng Yuhsiang, at one time hailed as "the Christian General." In Moscow (where in 1926 he went on a six months begging trip for arms and ammunition) Stalin welcomed him as a "reliable ally," who, joined to the K.M.T. Hankow "revolutionary center," would be able to snuff out Chiang. Instead, Feng eventually made a treaty of alliance with Chiang, which meant the complete collapse of the K.M.T. Hankow regime. The rightist wing of the K.M.T. took over at Hankow, liquidating all extremist elements in a bloody purge, but allowing Borodin and such leftist K.M.T. figures as Sun's widow and Eugene Chén to exile themselves from China. Chiang, the great Machiavellian intriguer, had come out on top. The Feng-Chiang alliance, one may perhaps add as a footnote, broke up in 1930, when Feng's army was defeated by Chiang, who allowed his rival to retire to a Buddhist monastery, whence he emerged only in 1947, trying to engineer an anti-Chiang movement. He died somewhat mysteriously in Russia in 1948.

After the collapse of the Hankow regime, Moscow finally recognized in July, 1927, that the entire K.M.T. had become "counter-revolutionary," and that henceforth it had to be fought by the C.C.P. The latter now tried, on Moscow's orders, to blow the embers of the agrarian revolts in Hunan and elsewhere into open flame (the so-called "Harvest Revolts" of the autumn of 1927), but, of course, failed utterly, since the momentum of the 1925-27 uprising had completely spent itself, having so successfully been blunted all along by its so-called spearhead, the K.M.T. Stalin now

pontificated that it had been necessary to let the K.M.T. discredit itself, before the C.C.P. could profitably take up its own role, independent of any anti-imperialist bourgeois movement. Isaacs lets the matter rest there and thus leaves the reader with the impression that the failure of the 1925-27 revolution was entirely due to a colossal stupidity on the part of Stalin, who blindly and wilfully had delayed the Communist triumph in China by a quarter of a century.

### Was Stalin Stupid?

If such is really the author's own conclusion, it is one from which this reviewer must sharply dissociate himself. Whatever Stalin was, he was not stupid, but, on the contrary, gifted with a tremendous cunning. If he hamstrung the Chinese Communist rising in 1925-27, it was not that he blundered into such policy out of opposition to Trotsky, but that he adopted it as a calculated move for eliminating possible rivals to his own domination. In the West we have been so accustomed to identify Stalin with the Communist cause—as the Stalinist legend was dinned into our ears by Stalinist propaganda—that the true and obvious fact has quite escaped us, viz., that *Stalin did not care two straws for Communism as such*; that his single-minded devotion was not to the *Cause of Communism*, but to the *Cause of Stalin*. China's 450 millions, he knew perfectly well, could never be a mere Russian satellite. A strong, industrialized and fanaticized China, sharing with the U.S.S.R. a five-thousand-mile-long, indefensible frontier, was not an asset, but the greatest potential danger that Russia had.

Stalin's advantage lay in keeping China weak and strife-ridden, not in making it strong. Hence, throughout World War II, Stalin renewed old ties with Chiang against Mao, in whom he apparently sensed a possible and, if so, most formidable rival. To the very end he stripped the magnificent industrial plants and arsenals of Manchuria, so as to prevent their falling into Mao's hands; to the very end he concluded (Aug. 14, 1945!) a fresh treaty of friendship with Chiang; to the very end Stalin caused the Russian embassy

in Peking to be ostentatiously closed on Mao's triumphal entry into that city, and directed the Soviet ambassador to follow obediently the flight of Chiang's government from Nanking to Canton. Only when Chiang's game was definitely up, did Stalin switch over to Mao (October 2, 1949).

This interpretation of Stalin's moves in China is, the reviewer submits, confirmed by Stalin's attitude toward Hitler. <sup>2)</sup> The Germany of the thirties, he recognized, was the strongest power in Europe—a power which, even if Communist would certainly never allow itself to be a mere appendage of the U.S.S.R. Hence he ordered the German Communist Party to back Hitler against the Weimar Republic and its Social-Democratic rulers. As is well known, it was the Communist votes in 1932 which helped Hitler, quite "legally," to inaugurate his "Third Reich" in January 1933. Stalin's alliance with Hitler (August 1939 to June 1941) was a logical outcome of this policy. Hitler, however, seeing through Stalin's plan, tried to forestall him by turning on his "ally," hoping thereby to gain in the Western Power allies against Russia. It is unnecessary to pursue the further history of this triangular contest: the West hoping that Russia and Hitler would mutually devour themselves; Russia hoping that the West and Hitler would do so; in the end, when Hitler went under, Russia and the West were left glowering at each other.

Such being the actual state of the world, an end of the stalemate between the Big Two can obviously be ended only by a Third stepping in to tip the balance. Could that Third be Mao Tse-tung?

H. C. E. ZACHARIAS, PH.D.

<sup>2)</sup> Tito also has of late revealed that, to the very end, Stalin advised Mao to come to terms with Chiang Kai-shek and disband the Red Army of China, thus confirming our interpretation. Tito, furthermore, has shown what uncanny capacity Stalin possessed for sensing a rival, when he urged Tito to reinstate the monarchy in Yugoslavia after the war. So, far from aiming at the triumph of Communism in China, Germany and Yugoslavia, Stalin persistently tried to keep the Communist regime in these countries from becoming a threat to his own supremacy.

Installment buying is gaining ground in Germany. Retail dealers who made a survey recently discovered that three persons in five had purchased items this way during a 12-month

period. Of those who did, almost 40 per cent bought furniture, about 23 per cent bought clothing, and 9 per cent bought radios.

# THROUGH GERMAN-SPEAKING COUNTRIES AND BORDER-LANDS

## II. SWITZERLAND

**O**N A RADIANT SUNNY MORNING in November, I left Alsace for Switzerland. The loudless sky was a deep blue. The Vosges in the east were covered with a fresh-fallen snow and shone like diamonds.

I went by coach from Reiningen to Mulhouse, a prosperous, industrial town in South Alsace. Before the French Revolution Mulhouse was associated with the Swiss Confederation as a city republic. Later, according to French historians, it voluntarily joined France; according to the Swiss, it was forced to join France. People in the district speak the Swiss dialect of the German and are indistinguishable from the Alamanic Swiss. In Mulhouse I boarded the Luxemburg-Bale train. We moved swiftly through the south Alsatian plain and hills towards Switzerland.

The hills of Jura appeared on the horizon in due course, and we crossed the frontier with its steel columns decorated with the Swiss white cross against a red background. Brand-new, comfortable housing estates ushered us into Bale, the principal entrance gate to Switzerland from the north. Bale with its 183,543 inhabitants is the second town in population in Switzerland and perhaps, the wealthiest. So many banks and insurance societies, controlling vast funds in Switzerland and abroad, have their centers in Bale. The station is vast, the town prosperous; shops are full of luxuries. The exchange is high: for 1000 French francs I received about 10 Swiss.

### *Historical Background*

In 1291 the peasants of the lands of Schwyz, Uri and Unterwalden, the so-called Urkantonen, formed a defense league against possible oppression by the feudal lords, the chief of whom were the Hapsburgs. Luzern, Bern and other cities with their districts were later admitted into the league as full members. By 1353 there were eight cantons, all German-speaking. The Hapsburgs' efforts to reduce the cantons to subjection failed signally. The cantons became free constituent members of the Holy Roman Empire. In 1481 the Republic of Fribourg, predominantly French-

speaking, was received as a canton. By 1513 the Confederation numbered thirteen cantons. The Reformation divided the cantons into Catholic and Protestant, but was unable to destroy the Confederation which became completely independent in 1648.

The French Revolutionary Armies were welcomed into Switzerland by many Swiss, who disliked the oligarchical regime obtaining in the wealthy Cantons of Bern, Bale, Fribourg and Zurich, where the patriciate lorded over the masses. In 1798 the French created a highly centralized, anti-clerical and socially advanced Helvetic Republic. This arrangement did not suit the Swiss. In 1803, therefore, by the Act of Mediation, Napoleon changed the Helvetic Republic into the Swiss Confederation of nineteen cantons. The new cantons were French and German-speaking districts previously ruled as dependencies by the old cantons. On the downfall of Napoleon the patriciate regained its power and three more cantons were admitted. The reactionary rule of the patriciate resulted in the rise of radicals who, with their anti-clerical policy, promoted the Sonderbund War and the new Constitution of 1848. This Constitution forbade the erection of new Catholic bishoprics and monasteries, and proscribed the Jesuits. In 1874 the Constitution was amended but its anti-clerical clauses remained.

Switzerland was fortunate enough to escape both world wars; it adheres strictly to a policy of neutrality. The country is both very prosperous and well-armed. Very many international organizations have their headquarters in Switzerland. They include the World Post Union, the Red Cross, the World Council of Churches, the International Labour Office, etc.

### *Swiss Geography*

Switzerland is a small country with an area of only 41,298 sq. klms. It is a mere one 235th part of Europe, a fourteenth of France, a twelfth of pre-war Germany (1930) and a half the present truncated Austria. Switzerland extends only 220 klms. from north to south and 350 klms. from

east to west. Fifty-eight per cent of the Swiss territory is covered by the Alps and twelve per cent by the Mountains of Jura. The Swiss Plateau, where the most of its population dwells, covers just thirty per cent of the territory of the Republic. The average elevation of the country is 1,350 meters above sea level, as against 375 meters for Europe generally. The highest Swiss mountain, Monte Rosa, rises to a height of 4,638 meters, while the lowest point in Switzerland on the coast of Lago Maggiore is 196 meters. Because of its elevation, Switzerland is rather cold for its latitude; it is also wet, even more so than Ireland.

Switzerland is the heart of Europe and is its citadel. It commands the communications from Italy to France and Germany. In any war the possession of Switzerland is advantageous alike to those defending Western Europe or to those attacking it. Necessity made the Swiss war-like long ago. Indeed, many of them served for centuries in the foreign armies, particularly for France and the Holy See. The Swiss Papal Guard is still one of the sights of Rome.

### *Population*

The population of Switzerland was 1,670,000 in 1800, with a density of 40 people for a sq. klm., and 3,880,000 in 1920 with 95 people per sq. klm. In 1950 there were 4,714,902 Swiss, with a density of 114 per sq. klm. The population is very unevenly distributed. The high Alps, which constitute half of the country's territory, had a density of 32 persons per sq. klm. in 1920, while the plateau and Jura had 156 per sq. klm. In the same year (for places where life is possible) there were 121 persons per sq. klm., as against 42 in Spain, 72 in France, 125 in Italy, 127 in Germany and 245 in Belgium. In those years 86.7% of the Swiss lived in places no higher than 800 meters, 13% in those between 800 m. and 1600 m., and only 0.3% above 1600 m. From *La Suisse, Géographie physique, humaine et économique*, by Dr. Gaston Michel et Alfred Wiest, (Fragnière Frères, Fribourg, 1930), whence I take most of my figures, I learn that Switzerland is a country of a low birth rate and low mortality, similar in this respect to France, Belgium, Great Britain and Scandinavia. In the 'twenties the divorce rate of Switzerland was the highest in Europe. Of every 100 Swiss marriages twenty-six were childless.

I pondered over these figures while traveling in a comfortably warm train from Bale to Fribourg. The route from Bale to Bern is very picturesque. It crosses high, densely wooded hills and fertile plains. It also passes through a long tunnel and skirts many prosperous towns. In Bern, the Swiss Capital, which in 1950 boasted 146,499 inhabitants, I changed trains and went westward to Suisse Romande, French-speaking Switzerland.

### *Language*

Of the twenty-five Swiss cantons (there are twenty-two cantons, but three of them are divided into half-cantons, which are quite independent) nineteen are German-speaking, five French-speaking and one Italian-speaking. One of the German Cantons—Bern—has a large French minority while the French-speaking Canton of Fribourg has a considerable German minority. Finally, the largest Swiss Canton—Grisons—although predominantly German-speaking, has also the valleys which use the Romansh language, a Latin derivative, or the Italian. In 1941, when the Swiss population was 4,265,703, the German-speaking Swiss numbered 3,097,060; the French Swiss 884,699; the Italian Swiss 220,530 and the Romansh 46,456.

Switzerland has four national languages. The majority of the Swiss are bilingual, speaking French and German, or Italian and French, or Italian and German. Quite a number speak three languages. Many Swiss also speak English. On the railways in the banks, shops, offices, in the hotels and the restaurants, there is no need to be stranded or misunderstood on account of language. Because each canton is a self-governing Republic, managing its own affairs—except a few reserved to the federal authorities—there is no racial or linguistic antagonism in Switzerland, as is observable between the Walloons and the Flemings in Belgium. A French-speaking Swiss is welcomed in Alamanie Switzerland and vice versa. The Swiss are very tolerant to local peculiarities and idiosyncrasies. In those cantons where two or more races dwell as in Berne, Fribourg or Grisons, there might occasionally be mutual irritation, but it is never deep. No Swiss would dream of breaking the Confederation in order to unite his canton with a large neighboring nation speaking his tongue. Observing the misery and troubles around them, the Swiss thank God for their good fortune and they are very much united.

### Religion

I spent about ten days in Suisse Romande. It includes the Cantons of Fribourg, Valais, Vaud, Geneva and Neuchatel. The first two Cantons are Catholic, the rest Calvinist. The majority of the French-speaking Swiss are Protestants; yet in Geneva itself there are more Catholics than Protestants. Geneva, City of Calvin, is a great Protestant as well as ecumenical center. The World Council of Churches has its headquarters there.

Suisse Romande has three Catholic dioceses: Lausanne-Geneva-Fribourg, Sitten and St. Maurice. The former is renowned for its prelates: Cardinal Mermilliod (1883-91), who cooperated in the preparation of the Encyclical "Rerum Novarum," Mgr. Besson, who died during the last year and Mgr. Charrière, President of "Catholica Mino."

### Hauterive Abbey

In Suisse Romande I was privileged to spend a few days in the celebrated Cistercian Hauterive Abbey, known otherwise as *Paradis Terrestre*. The Monastery was founded in 1138 by Sir Guillaume de Glane, who afterwards became a lay brother in the Abbey. The latter developed well and reached its zenith in the reign of the Abbot Peter III d'Affry (1405-1449). Although for a period of decline, the Abbey survived the Reformation and the French Revolution unaffected. The end came in 1848 as a result of the Swiss *Ulkurkampf*. In 1841 the Radical Government of the predominantly Protestant Canton of Aargau closed the Catholic monasteries within its borders.

The Catholic cantons protested against this decree and the general Radical offensive against the Catholic Church. In order to defend their rights, they formed a league for mutual defense—the Sonderbund. The Federal Government ordered the Catholic cantons to dissolve the Sonderbund. When they refused to do so, the Federal Government sent troops against them and the Sonderbund War of 1847 began. It ended in the defeat of the Catholic cantons, which were conveniently punished for their rebellion. The conservative Protestant Canton of Neuchatel, which supported them as far as possible without actually joining the Sonderbund, was also reprimanded. As a result of the Sonderbund War the Radical cantonal governments were installed throughout Switzerland, including the Canton of Fribourg. The Radicals suppressed Hauterive on April 13, 1848.

The Abbey was first used to house a school of agriculture and then a teacher's college. Over 2,000 teachers for Catholic schools graduated from Hauterive College. Meanwhile, the cantonal government of Fribourg, long since Catholic, sought to restore the venerable Abbey. It could not do so openly, because the Swiss Federal Constitution, designed by the Radicals of 1848, prohibits the foundation of new monasteries. The Canton then made the Abbey a national monument of art and entrusted its keeping to the Cistercian monks of Swiss origin from Mehrerau in Austria. The latter Abbey was founded in 1854 by the Swiss Cistercian monks expelled from Wettingen Abbey in Aargau in 1841.

Hauterive Abbey was restored in 1939. It now has quite a numerous community, which endeavors to live according to the ancient Cistercian customs, more or less as in Boquen Abbey in Brittany, which I visited in May, 1952. The ancient Cistercian Mass is celebrated, the time-table observed, etc. The Abbey is a noted liturgical center. Its buildings, particularly its church and cloister, are true monuments of art. They are situated in a spot of great natural beauty—a veritable earthly paradise.

I ended my stay in Suisse Romande in Fribourg, the seat of the well known Catholic University, founded in 1889. The latter is very international, although much smaller than the University of Louvain in Belgium. There are four faculties: theology, law, arts and science. The library has over 600,000 volumes. The new University buildings are ultra-modern and as commodious as those of any school in the U. S. A. In Fribourg I visited the Benedictine Priory of the St. Otilien Missionary Congregation, where I was very well received. Mgr. Charrière, Bishop of Lausanne, Geneva and Fribourg, was in Rome during my stay and hence I was unable to meet him.

I left Fribourg in a blinding snowstorm for the Italian-speaking Canton of Ticino. I traveled via Bern and Luzern. The Swiss plateau was covered with a deep snow. In Luzern, on the coast of the Lake of Four Cantons, it was milder. I changed trains in Luzern and went southwards on the Brussels-Rome Express. We skirted several beautiful lakes, surrounded by high mountains, and then crossed the high Alps. The air became cold and everything was buried in snow. Soon after Altdorf we entered the second longest Swiss tunnel, St. Gotthard's, and emerged in due course in Airolo on the southern side of the Alps.

The change was overwhelming. Instead of the gray, overcast sky of the North, and the cold and snow, I saw before me the sun-lit, snow-capped mountains, shining like diamonds against the deep blue Italian sky. The train went down and down until we reached Lugano. I left the train there and went to the town. This was, indeed, Italy—Italian speech, faces, houses, vegetation and landscape; but it was a wealthy Italy. Lugano reminded me of Nice and Rio-de-Janeiro with its beautiful coastal drive, mountains and palms.

### *Ticino*

From Lugano I went to Cureglia, a beautiful village at the foot-hills of the Alps, a few miles from the Italian frontier. I stayed in Cureglia at Casa San Benedetto, a center of Byzantine studies, managed by Benedictine nuns of the Eastern Rite. The Casa is a small but comfortable Italian Palazzo, set in a beautiful sub-tropical garden. The climate could best be described as an eternal spring. I made several excursions from Cureglia to this delightful land of the Italian Lakes—Lago di Garda, Lago Maggiore, Lago di Como, Lago di Lugano, etc.

Ticino, with its area of 2,811 sq. klms. and a population of 175,055 inhabitants, is the only Italian-speaking canton of Switzerland, although there are a few Italian-speaking valleys in the neighboring Canton of Grisons. The Italians of Ticino are Lombards and speak the Lombardic dialect of Italian. In the late Middle Ages the Swiss cantons occupied Ticino because it possesses good mountain passes from south to north. They administered it as dependency. Only in 1803 was Ticino admitted as a canton on the recommendation of Napoleon.

### *Government*

The Swiss Constitution now provides for a parliament of two chambers. The Upper Chamber, Council of State, similar to the American Senate, consists of forty-four members, two for each canton; and the Lower Chamber, National Council, comprising 196 members, elected for four years, each representing 24,000 people. In the Upper Chamber at present the Catholics have eighteen members, the Radicals twelve, the Socialists four, the Peasants three, etc. In the Lower Chamber the Radicals have fifty-one deputies, the Socialists forty-nine, the Catholics forty-eight, the Peasants twenty-three, etc. The Federal Council, the Government, consists of seven members. Its President,

who is also the President of Switzerland, is elected annually by the united National and State Councils. The German, French and Italian-speaking Swiss are represented in the Federal Council and become its president in turn. The large number of Radicals and Socialists in the Parliament prevents Catholics from obtaining the repeal of the obnoxious anti-clerical laws. Ticino, for instance, officially constitutes a part of the Bishopric of Bale-Lugano; but in reality it is an independent diocese ruled by an Italian-speaking bishop, who cannot be the Bishop of Lugano, because the Constitution prohibits the erection of new dioceses. The German-speaking Swiss have three dioceses—Bale, Chur and St. Gall.

### *Engelberg*

From Ticino I went to the German-speaking Switzerland, to the Canton of Obwalden. From the tropical warmth and sunshine of the Italian lakes I was translated within a few hours to the high Alps, to the snow and cold. The Benedictine Abbey of Engelberg lies 1070 meters above sea level in an arena-like valley, surrounded by high mountains, of which Titlis is 3239 meters high, Spannort 3202, etc. The Engelberg Valley is very beautiful. High, snow-capped mountains, magnificent pine forests, small lakes, mountain streams—all shining with the dazzling snow in brilliant sunshine—make a fine picture against the cloudless blue sky. Engelberg is a well-known winter-sport resort. Its snow-covered slopes and fields are good, its air is like champagne and its hotels the last word in comfort and luxury.

The Abbey was founded by a knight, Konrad von Sellenbüren, in 1120. Its first abbot was Adelhelm. The Pope, Callixtus II, and the Emperor, Henry V, approved the foundation in 1122. Abbot Frowin (1145-78), a fine artist himself, established at Engelberg the celebrated school which produced many magnificent illuminated manuscripts, some of which still grace the wonderful monastic library. The Abbey subsequently developed into a principality and often had difficulties in keeping its peasants in submission and the neighboring cantons in a good mood.

Engelberg Abbey escaped the devastations of the Reformation and the French Revolution, as well as complications of the Sonderbund War. Engelberg is the mother-house of two American Benedictine Abbeys, Conception in Missouri and Mount Angel in Oregon. The community has well over

100 monks. Besides, there is also a large college for boys.

The buildings of the Abbey are vast and often splendid. The Abbey church of the most splendid baroque was built by John Rueff, an Austrian architect, between 1730-45. It would take pages to describe all the wonders of the Abbey, its church, its library, its sacristy, etc. (In my book, *Benedictine Monasticism Today*, I shall endeavor to describe the Abbey in detail.) Never closed or looted, the Abbey possesses a rich sacristy. It houses many exquisite articles, including an ancient processional cross of the Romance style, with the crowned Christ. Before this cross, which enshrines a piece of the true cross, the monks make their profession; it is also brought into their cell when they die.

The Abbey has many visitors in summer, which is rather short, but only a few in winter. The monks were very kind to me, indeed. Because of the high elevation, snow lies on the ground six months of the year. It snows even in July and August. The nights are always fresh. Only sheep and cattle-grazing and kitchen gardens are possible on such a height. Ordinary farming is out of the question.

Its high elevation generally prevents Switzerland from being a truly agricultural country. As early as 1920 a large part of the population—41.11%—was engaged in industry, 9.91% in trade and 26% in agriculture and mining. Only Great Britain imports more than Switzerland.

Approximately one-fifth, or 22%, of the Swiss territory is unsuited to cultivation. The meadows cover 29.3% of the surface; grazing ground, 19.7%; forests 22.4%; fields 4.3%; marshes 1.4% and vineyards 0.5%. Switzerland is a wet country. Seventy-five per cent of the surface of the country has more than one meter of precipitation in rain and snow a year, against 65% of a meter for Ireland, 35% for England, 8% for France and 3% for Germany. Most of the available Swiss ground is used for cattle-breeding and cattle-grazing. Switzerland has enough meat, milk and butter, but it imports wheat from Canada, the U. S. A. and Argentine; wine from France and Spain, etc.

### *Einsiedeln*

My last stay in Switzerland was in Einsiedeln. It is situated in the Canton of Schwyz, over 900 meters above sea level. The landscape, however, is not as magnificent as in Engelberg. Einsiedeln is a Swiss national shrine. In the IXth

century St. Meinrad, a member of the family of Zollern, ancestors of the Hohenzollerns, who was murdered in 861, had his hermitage there. In 934 St. Eberhard, Prior of Strasbourg, became the first abbot of the monastery, founded on the spot where St. Meinrad lived.

Einsiedeln was prosperous from the beginning. It founded several daughter houses in Switzerland and S. Germany and produced St. Wolfgang, who worked for the conversion of the Hungarians. The Hohenzollerns and the Hapsburgs were great benefactors of the Abbey. In due course the Abbey became a principality and its Abbot a prince of the Holy Roman Empire. Great possessions involved the monks in trouble with their neighbors and their own peasants. The Abbey, however, survived the evil days and became one of the strongest outposts of Catholicism in Switzerland against advancing Protestantism.

The Abbey did much to stop the Protestant tide. It survived the French Revolution and the Sonderbund War, and in the last century founded three Abbeys in the U. S. A.—St. Meinrad's, New Subiaco and Richardton. In 1948 the Priory of Los Toldos in Argentina was founded.

The Abbey has now about 200 monks and its fine school for boys has over 300 pupils. The magnificent Abbey Church, visited on the average by 250,000 pilgrims a year, has accommodations for 10,000 people. This enormous aggregate of the monastic buildings, equalled only by the Escorial in Spain, was conceived by the mind of a lay-brother, Casper Mosbrugger (1656-1722), an Architect of genius. The Abbey is, of course, baroque, most splendid and rich. Gold, marbles, mirrors, sculptures, frescoes, mosaics are everywhere. The vestments are of the utmost beauty and wealth. The music is polyphonic.

Einsiedeln has two main attractions for pilgrims. The first is the Lady Chapel erected over the spot where the original cell of St. Meinrad stood, and the second is the tomb of Bro. Meinrad Engster (1848-1925). The Lady Chapel is quite a roomy building for which the great Basilica serves as a cover. The celebrated black image of Our Lady of Einsiedeln is preserved in the Lady Chapel. Bro. Meinrad Engster was a lay brother in the Abbey. He was a member of the *Gesellenverein*, initiated by Fr. Kolping in the Rheinland. The process of the beatification of Bro. Meinrad is well advanced. It seems he will be the first beatified Catholic trade unionist. Bro. Meinrad's life is most interesting and his motto

truly sublime: "Be patient, everything passes away, only eternity remains."

The monks urged me to tarry longer in the Abbey, but I was hard pressed for time. I left Zurich one sunny November morning, as the sun bathed the snow-capped Alps with dazzling light. Everything was fairy-like in its beauty: mountains, pine forests, ancient houses, the golden domes of the Basilica. Zurich is the largest city of Switzerland and boasted 390,020 inhabitants in 1950.

It is often forgotten that Switzerland, although it lacks minerals, is land-locked and has only a

small internal market, is a predominantly industrial country. The Swiss industrialists concentrate either on production of high quality articles, like watches or precision instruments, or on an industry which demands vast capital and few workers (the chemical industry). Ninety per cent of the clocks and watches sold in the world are Swiss. How a small country attained its very high standard of living without having unemployment is romance in itself. In many ways Switzerland is an inspiration.

DR. S. BOLSHAKOFF  
Oxford, England

## CARDINAL STEPINAC AND DICTATOR TITO

### I.

**A**LOYSIUS CARDINAL STEPINAC is, as everyone knows, the Cardinal Archbishop of Zagreb, the Capital of Croatia, Yugoslavia, and the Primate of the Roman Catholic Church in Yugoslavia. Without doubt he is one of the greatest living symbols of the Church's adamant stand against the onslaughts of Communism.

Cardinal Stepinac was Bishop Coadjutor of the diocese of Zagreb from 1933 to 1937. On December 8, 1937, he was named Archbishop of Zagreb and took as his motto these words of the Psalmist: *In te, Domine, speravi*, "In Thee, O Lord, have I hoped."

In 1946 Cardinal Stepinac was sentenced to prison by Tito's government for allegedly supporting and collaborating with the Germans, and for violating the sacred trusts and principles of his office. After a few years in prison, upon the repeated insistence of the civilized world and in order to secure for himself the sympathy and co-operation of the West, Tito released Stepinac from prison and confined him to his native village, Kresic. The Cardinal is not permitted to leave this village, and, in the month of March, 1953, the Yugoslav government issued a decree forbidding him to receive visitors and foreign news-paper correspondents.

The attack on Cardinal Stepinac as well as his arrest and continued persecution by the Tito government, is in all probability the one most devastat-

ing mistake made by the Communists of Yugoslavia. To salve its conscience and to try and prove to the world that Stepinac is and was all that he was accused of being in 1946, when he was brought to trial in Yugoslavia, the government issued a thick and glossy edition of their *Yugoslav Review* in January, 1953, under the sponsorship of the Yugoslav Information Service in New York. This issue represents a classic example of the most vicious type of propaganda. It is filled with photographs, documents and quotations. All are supposed to prove that Stepinac was a liar, a thief, a terrorist and a medieval barbarian. Persons unfamiliar with Stepinac's case could easily accept his condemnation on the grounds adduced in this issue of the *Yugoslav Review*. However, any one having a smattering of knowledge of Yugoslavia and its language could immediately discover this issue to be full of lies, distortions and falsehoods.

The January, 1953, issue of the *Yugoslav Review* claims the following:

1. All faiths in Yugoslavia enjoy an active religious press.
2. All religious faiths are free.
3. Priests are active supporters of the Tito government.
4. Cardinal Stepinac: a) Was a collaborator with the Nazis and the Nazi-supported Ustashi government of the Croats; b)

forced the Greek Orthodox Serbs to accept Catholicism during the short existence of the Independent State of Croatia under the Italian and Nazi-supported Gauleiter, Ante Pavelic; c) persecuted the Jews.

Let us see if there be any truth in these Communist charges.

Does religious freedom exist in Yugoslavia? Let us first refer our reader to the April issue of the *Social Justice Review*, in which we showed that the Catholic Bishops of Yugoslavia thought about the so-called "religious freedom" in the land of the Southern Slavs. Now we shall present some more specific evidence in order to answer the charges of the *Yugoslav Review*. On page 15 of the January, 1953, issue of *YR*, the Communist government of Yugoslavia claims that "All faiths enjoy an active religious press." After making this statement and elaborating on it at some length, *YR* proceeds to prove that there is

complete freedom of religious printed expression among the Croat Catholics of Yugoslavia. A photograph accompanies the article, purportedly showing copies of printed Roman Catholic magazines and brochures. On page 14 of this issue of the *Review* will be found a photograph with the caption "Catholic Publications in Croatia for 1952." Actually, the photograph does not contain a single newspaper, book or review. In reality it portrays twelve issues of three publications. These three publications are religious calendars, reference media used by priests for offering Mass and saying the Breviary. The ordinary reader, not being familiar with the Serbo-Croat language, would easily be misled into believing that a large number of religious publications are permitted to flourish in Yugoslavia. I feel sure that many Americans who received one of the 60,000 copies of *YR* believed the photograph in spite of the fact that they could not understand the titles of the publications portrayed. What Cardinal Stepinac stated at his trial on October 11, 1946, on the subject of the freedom of religious press in Yugoslavia, is still true today: "Our Catholic press has been completely destroyed. All of our publishing houses have been taken away from us. We no longer have our own press. That press, which you have so vehemently attacked in this court, no longer exists. . . ."

Again we ask, does religious freedom exist in Yugoslavia? The *Review* tries vainly to answer in the affirmative. Its attempts to prove religious

freedom in Yugoslavia are futile, because the present laws themselves give the lie to such statements. For proof we have only to cite the original guarantees, given to the Roman Catholic Church at the formation of Tito's government, and the most recent laws on religion.

### *The New Law on Religion*

(Taken from *Borba*, the official newspaper of the Communist Party in Yugoslavia, February 12, 1953.)

Paragraph 4: In order to preserve freedom of conscience and thought, all religious teachings and religious establishments are forbidden in schools.

Par. 5: It is forbidden to conduct religious services in churches, to use the religious press, to utilize the ritual and ceremony of any religion in order to influence the political beliefs of the citizens.

Par. 6: Religious organizations, their priests, representatives and followers do not enjoy any special privileges or protections.

Par. 8: The Home Secretary may curtail or forbid the work of any religious body, organization, or individual who works against the laws and institutions of the State.

Par. 11: The priests of the various religious bodies are permitted to form their own priestly organizations. (This is to encourage the priests to break away from the authority of their Bishops.)

Par. 13: Representatives of religious organizations, their priests, their servants and assistants, as well as heads of religious schools, must be citizens of F.N.R.J. (Federated National Republics of Yugoslavia.)

Par. 16: All cemeteries are public property; they must be employed for general use and are under the control of the people's committees in the respective towns where they are located.

Par. 22: The ringing of church bells for religious purposes is done only through the written permission of the country authorities.

Par. 25: Students are forbidden to attend religious services and meetings during school hours. . . . Children must have the permission of their parents or guardians to attend religious services, meetings or ceremonies.

Par. 27: Violation of this law is subject to a fine of 50,000 dinars or one year in prison.

*Original Guarantees given to the Catholics at the Formation of the Tito Government*

Paragraph 1: Citizens of the F.N.R.J. may belong to any religion, or choose not to belong to any religion. . . . Citizens of the F.N.R.J. have complete freedom of conscience.

Par. 2: Citizens of the F.N.R.J. may organize religious societies whose purposes are not against the established laws.

Par. 4: Religious groups may establish religious schools, but they must not be against the established laws.

Par. 1: No one can be forced to become a member of any religion.

Par. 8: Religious organizations may perform their services and duties, but they must register with the Home Secretary.

Par. 14: The State may give material aid to religious organizations for building-maintenance and other purposes.

Par. 15: No one can be invited or solicited to contribute to any religious collection.

Par. 17: Religious services and functions may be conducted only on church property.

Par. 18: A child may be baptized only upon the permission of its parents. If the child is capable of giving consent, this consent must be secured from the person.

Here we have positive and final proof that freedom of religion never existed and never will exist in Tito's Yugoslavia.

The *Yugoslav Review* next proceeds to use the argument of quoted authority to prove that religious freedom exists under the communist heel of Tito. It quotes not only American and other Protestant clergymen, but also the Greek Orthodox Patriarch of Yugoslavia and Rev. Edgar Popp, the head of the Evangelical Church in Yugoslavia, to the effect that religious freedom exists in Yugoslavia. The statement of the Serb Greek Orthodox Patriarch was condemned in April, 1953, at a meeting of Serb Orthodox priests in Cleveland, who stated that there was no more religious freedom for Serbs than for Roman Catholic Croats in Yugoslavia.

However, the best answer to Rev. Popp and the others who are quoted in the *Review* can be found in the opinions expressed by the civilized world at the time of Cardinal Stepinac's trial in 1946.

Louis S. Breier, Program Director, American Jewish Committee, at the Bronx Round Table,

National Conference of Christians and Jews October 13, 1946: "This great churchman (Cardinal Stepinac) has been charged with being collaborator with the Nazis. We Jews deny that. We know from his record . . . that he was true friend of the Jews. . . . This man . . . a during the Nazi regime, spoke out openly, unafraid, against the dreadful Nuremberg Laws. . . . He also cried out against the infamous 'yellow tag' system, contending it violated the dignity of man, and he is credited with being the main force in having it abandoned."

William L. Chenert, publisher of *Collie Weekly*: "Archbishop Stepinac stood for decency and was the symbol of freedom. . . ."

Editorial in *The New York Times*, October 13, 1946: "The trial of Archbishop Stepinac was clearly political with the conviction foreordained. . . . Archbishop Stepinac has been convicted and will be imprisoned as part of a campaign against his Church, which is guilty of unfriendliness towards Communism."

Dr. Willard S. Sper, Pastor of the Huguenot Memorial Church, Pelham, N. Y.: ". . . Msgr. Stepinac . . . was convicted simply because he had the courage to stand before the forces that would destroy our world—our way of life. . . ."

Dr. John Sutherland Bonnell, Minister, Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York City: "No intelligent Protestant will rejoice in the misfortunes that have overtaken the Roman Catholic Church in Yugoslavia."

Among many others who are convinced of Stepinac's innocence, and who have publicly expressed themselves in this respect, will be found two great French writers, Paul Claudel and Francois Mauriac.

(To be continued)

CLEMENT S. MIHANOVICH, PH.D.  
St. Louis University

*Osservatore Romano*, Vatican City daily, has recently published a denunciation of Tito's supposed Church-State agreement. What the Yugoslav dictator actually means is "an agreement to be reached without the Holy See."

*Osservatore* also denied emphatically that Cardinal Stepinac has in any way violated the terms of his conditional release from prison. It further noted the presence in jail of another Bishop, Petar Sule of Mostar, as well as many priests and religious...

# Warder's Review

## Peace Offensive

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S SPEECH a few weeks ago at a luncheon of the American Society of Newspaper Editors in Washington has now been carefully evaluated. Immediately heralded as a masterpiece of statesmanship and a clear expression of our country's peace objective, the address has continued to win high approval in practically all circles. Even Soviet Russia was quite restrained in its criticism, preferring rather to take vehement exception to utterances made by Mr. Dulles, Secretary of State. While the Soviet restraint may be a part of its new (?) strategy in world affairs, it could also be attributable to the fact that the President's address was too difficult to handle according to the usual Soviet methods.

Instead of broad generalizations, Mr. Eisenhower consistently cited specific facts and instances. This method added immeasurably to his effectiveness; it also made the usual Communist distortions a bit difficult and a blanket denial quite ineffectual. The President was very specific in pointing out "a few clear precepts," five in number, which "govern our conduct in world affairs." He was equally detailed and graphic in estimating the cost of an armaments race in terms of schools, homes and highways which could be built with such funds. His five-point proposal of world disarmament was concrete and convincing. The same is true of Mr. Eisenhower's designation of the various trouble centers where the East-West conflict is being crystallized.

Perhaps the most telling words of the whole address were those in which the President appealed for good faith: . . . "the formula (for disarmament) matters less than the faith—the good faith without which no formula can work justly and effectively." The lack of such faith on the part of Soviet Russia and its satellites has certainly been a chief obstacle in the way of international concord.

Some have found the President's address lacking because no reference was made to moral principles, although mention was made in the closing lines of God's design whereby the world was created to be enjoyed by man, not destroyed by him. While it is recognized that any appeal on moral grounds is without effect in international affairs today—with the West as well as the East—we must not for that reason abandon the thought

of building our hopes for peace on moral foundations. There is simply no substitute for "peace as the work of justice." It is hoped that the West generally, and our country particularly, will harken back to its Christian heritage in this its hour of great need. What would be most assuring is the abandonment of the accustomed expediency in favor of sound moral principles in international affairs. Let us hope President Eisenhower's address is but the first of a series of successful steps by our country toward the attainment of world peace according to Christian standards.

## Re-Evaluating Social Security

THE NEW ADMINISTRATION in Washington is determined to make a complete re-examination of the Social Security program originally adopted in 1935. We do not question the desirability of such re-examination. The program has changed materially since 1935. It has departed materially from the original concepts of the promoters of Social Security.

For one thing, the framers of Social Security never envisaged the enormous character of the present Public Assistance program. They hoped that the early maturing of Old-Age and Survivors Insurance would rule out the necessity for major participation on the part of the Federal Government in Public Assistance.

The vast development of Public Assistance has brought up many questions in the relationship between the Federal Government and the States. The State Governments are assuming more and more responsibility for local programs of assistance. There is, therefore, an increased tendency for the States to look to the Federal Government to bear a larger share.

While the Federal participation in Public Assistance has been increasing there have been demands for new forms of grants-in-aid for the States.

One cannot very well look at the relationship between the Federal Government and the States in the field of Public Assistance without considering other fields in which grants-in-aid programs have been expanding. We have expanding programs for aid to hospitals, for aid in the construction of new hospital and health facilities; we have grants-in-aid for the rehabilitation of the

physically handicapped; we have an increasing responsibility on the part of the Federal Government for road building.

At recent meetings of State Governors there has been a great deal of discussion about the extent to which the Federal Government has taken over various sources of taxation. There has been a growing tendency on the part of State Governments to take over tax sources from local communities.

One cannot, therefore, take up the question of the relationship between the Federal Government and the States in the fields of Social Security and Public Assistance without discussing the desirability of evaluating the entire tax structure of the United States, including local, State and Federal Governments.

If we are going to make new tax sources available to the States and local communities there is the further question as to whether the taxes should be collected on the State and local level or by the Federal Government. If it is decided that the Federal Government should collect the taxes, under what conditions should the funds be made available to the States? Should the States be permitted to use their own discretion in the expending of these funds, or should the Federal Government turn the funds over to the States without any restrictions?

Many people contend that if the funds are turned over to the States without any strings, the States will not make the best use of them. This raises some basic questions of social philosophy. Can we assume that all the wisdom of the people of the United States is concentrated in Washington and that the States cannot be depended upon to develop adequate programs?

When the 1950 amendments to the Social Security Act were adopted there was a resolution passed by the Senate Finance Committee that the whole Social Security structure should be re-examined. What the Committee had in mind was the question as to whether or not Old-Age and Survivors Insurance should be matured immediately so as to include the present aged. This would mean that the present reserve would be exhausted within three or four years and from that time forward the system would have to be on a pay-as-you-go basis. If there were any further questions of tacking on additional benefits, such as medical and hospital benefits, the payroll taxes would have to be increased so as to take up the new load.

Most people recognize that it is desirable to develop benefits based on rights for people needing protection against the various hazards of life such as old age, premature death, sickness, invalidism, etc. If it is our objective that all the people needing such protection should receive it through benefits based on rights, the group needing Public Assistance would presumably be relatively small. One may ask whether this relatively small group should not be taken care of by the States or local communities, particularly if they have access to a wider tax basis. These are some of the questions that will come up for consideration under the re-examination of Social Security about to be conducted by the new Administration in Washington.

*Catholic Charities Review*  
April, 1953

Catholics throughout the world number 425,508,220, according to statistics compiled for the 1953 Britannica Book of the Year, published in Chicago.

The Catholic population is close to one-fifth of the total world population, is more than one-half of the estimated total of 750 million Christians throughout the world.

The information on religions is incorporated in a comparison table of membership in the world's churches gathered by the publication and published in connection with an article on "Church Membership."

Britannica yearbook stresses that the statistics "of the world's religions are only very rough approximations."

World's totals for other religious bodies are given as:

Eastern Orthodox	128,280,414
Protestants	191,503,520
Jewish	11,532,500
Mohammedan	315,699,603
Zoroastrian	124,890
Shintoists	25,000,000
Taoists	50,053,000
Confucianists	300,290,500
Buddhists	150,300,000
Hindus	255,715,000
Primitives	121,150,000
Others or none	387,579,154
Total World population	2,367,737,000

*The Michigan Catholic*, April 16

# Contemporary Opinion

ONE OF THE MOST unthrifty habits in evidence in the United States today is that of buying non-essentials on installment. One-half of all current retail trade is done on an installment basis. Five million American families share their car with a finance company. Twenty-two per cent of the disposable income of the American people is used for installment buying. Three out of every \$4 of furniture purchases is on installment.

It is difficult to determine what portion of this avalanche of installment buying is attributable to rural people. It would be, however, foolish to suppose that they have been unaffected by it.

FATHER O'ROURKE  
*The Alamo Register*  
March 20, 1953

"The Communist is ill-equipped on every score for a place in the teaching field," stated J. Edgar Hoover before a Congressional committee. "If, as some claim, he joined the Communist movement without recognizing its true objectives, he once might have been excused on the ground that he was not a knave but merely a fool. Yet his lack of discernment is poor recommendation for the post of instructor of others."

*Catholic Herald Citizen*  
April 11

Economically, particularly in reference to its relationship with the United States, Spain is the paradox of Western Europe. Since the beginning of the Second World War, we have poured out in lend-lease grants, loans, Point Four, and other aids to our allies both former and present in Western Europe something approximating 80 billions of American dollars. During this period, our aid to Spain amounted to a loan of \$62,500,000.

Although an additional aid of \$125,000,000 has been voted by Congress, it is part and parcel of the military and economic bargaining now going on between the two governments.

As we pour hundreds of millions of American dollars to Tito, an avowed Communist, the Spanish student of politics and economics cannot understand how this can be, while Spain, the constant and uncompromising enemy of Communism is left out in the financial cold. Yet there is every reason that this cannot continue indefinitely.

STANTON GRIFFIS,  
Former U. S. Ambassador to Spain  
*Catholic Sentinel*, April 9

Nothing would be more useless and detrimental for scholastic philosophy than futile attempts at any kind of concordism which would make Einstein and Aristotle bed-fellows occupied with the same kind of truth and explanation.

Thomist philosophy and modern science do not need to be reconciled. They are in natural concordance on the condition that we do not dream of making the physicist subservient to our philosophy, or our philosophy subservient to the physicist, and that we do not try to build a philosophy of nature on Einstein space-time or to derive free will from physical indeterminism, or, conversely, that we do not feel obliged by nuclear physics to reject the philosophical theory of matter and form.

JACQUES MARITAIN  
To the 27th annual meeting of the  
American Catholic Philosophical Ass'n.  
*The Prairie Messenger*, April 16, 1953

The rebellion and fanaticism of Communism can only be met by a power and conviction that, for the West, only its real God, reaffirmed on a broad national basis, can provide.

I believe that Western Christianity, whether Protestant or Catholic, must pray with greater purity of heart for the Eastern Orthodox Church, this Church which, in God's inscrutable economy, was chosen to bear throughout the centuries the brunt of the attack far more than its Western sisters. This is integral to the magnitude of the challenge. There have been lately heartening signs that the ancient Church of the East is not altogether forgotten in the West.

CHARLES MALIK  
*Catholic Mind*, May 1953

The new tyranny is not merely a matter of subjugating the people by force to the rule of a master, like the tyrannies of the past; it uses the new techniques of psychology and behaviourism to condition the personality and to control the mind, as it were from within. By continued repression and stimulation, by suggestion and terrorization, the personality is subject to a methodical psychological assault until it surrenders its freedom and becomes a puppet which shouts and marches and hates and dies at its master's voice, or in response to their unseen and unrecognized stimulation.

CHRISTOPHER DAWSON  
*The Sword of The Spirit*

I wonder how many American public officials realize that their power comes from God, and that this is true whatever office they may hold, from President down to village constable.

Exclusion of God from government may well have some connection with the indifference of public officials toward God's law in their governing capacity, however upright they may be in private life.

REV. FRANCIS J. CONNELL, C.Ss.R.  
*The Monitor*, March 20, 1953

I cannot bring you the experiences of philosophers, or the clergy or of the learned professions. But I can speak as a wage earner whose entire life has been spent in the very practical pursuit of making a living.

As a result of my own experience in this work-a-day world, I know that it is not the strength of Communism which we need to guard against but the weakness of our own belief in Christian principles.

MARTIN P. DURKIN, Sec'y of Labor  
*The Casket*, April 16, 1953

Silence and leisure is what we badly need in these days of noise and frenzied haste. In silence we would find inspiration and insight into the true meaning of existence, and in leisure we could ascertain whither the tide of events is carrying us. Perhaps there never was a generation that knew as little whither it was heading as ours. We do not pause long enough to think ahead of happenings, and the din around us breeds confusion in our minds.

DR. C. B.  
*The Wanderer*, April 19

Since the Queen (of England) is, as far as the Established Church goes, the defender of it, it seems to me that we have come to a pretty sorry pass when this avowed atheist (Tito), who has deliberately set forward a policy of destroying religion, should have been invited to lunch with Her Majesty.

One could have tolerated an ordinary visit, but this is an intolerable state of things.

BISHOP PETIT OF MENEVIA  
*The Southern Cross*, Capetown  
March 18, 1953

Materialism is not exclusive to Communism; it is a characteristic of modern Capitalism, too. We Christians must not allow ourselves to get so preoccupied with the fight against Communism that we blind ourselves to those things in our own way of life which are essentially anti-Christian and which cry out for reform.

DOUGLAS HYDE  
*The Catholic Worker*, London  
November, 1952

## Fragments

DO NOT MERELY rest content on the laurels of the past; do not stop to contemplate the furrow once plowed, but, consolidating upon what has been happily acquired, strive always for new conquests. POPE PIUS XII, Easter, 1953

"False philosophies may have a long and profound influence on humanity, but they all follow the law of history and after their heyday they fade into decline and ruin. The Church of Christ has received and will always receive from its Divine Founder the strength to defy this law. It is constantly rejuvenated and outlives all errors."

POPE PIUS XII, April 9, 1952

A journalistic code of honor backed by just sanctions was suggested by Archbishop Aloisius J. Muench, Papal Nuncio to Germany, as an effective method for preserving genuine freedom of the press. The nuncio spoke at a banquet of the Foreign Press Association at Bonn, attended by Germany's President Theodor Heuss and other high officials.

Aloysius Stepinac would have made no question about giving a rightful civil authority the things that are Caesar's; but he would not give to Caesar the things that are God's.

CARDINAL STRITCH

Active participation in the liturgy will necessarily produce effects of a social character which will overflow from the sphere of religion into the spheres of political, social and economic life.

MSGR. MARTIN B. HELLRIEGEL

# THE SOCIAL APOSTOLATE

Theory

Procedure

Action

## *The Weariness that Afflicts the Good*

THE SPECIAL ADDRESSES of our Holy Father on stated occasions have become something of institution. We have come to expect authoritative and inspirational statements on world conditions from His Holiness, particularly on the great feasts of Christmas and Easter. Because of the Pope's illness of last winter which has left him rather weak, the special Easter message this year was comparatively brief. It was, none-the-less, most apt in its references to present ills and certainly lacked nothing by way of giving light and hope in these days of confusion and uncertainty.

The conditions under which the world has been living since the termination of World War II give a tendency to be exasperating. "Cold war," "war of containment," "armed truce" and the like are all indicative that we have thus far succeeded in staving off a third world conflict. But they also express the absence of a true peace among the nations. Such has been the state of things international since 1945, and there is no solid basis for a hope that the tension-charged atmosphere will be cleared in the foreseeable future. It is to be feared, therefore, that a gloomy pessimism will begin to take hold in the minds and hearts of men—an eventuality which would only aggravate present difficulties and postpone the dawn of a better era.

Because the East-West conflict seems to have reached a state of deadlock quite beyond the skill of statesmen to break, patience has a tendency to yield to desperation. It is precisely at such an hour men must seek strength and assurance in the knowledge of the eternal truths of revealed religion. The godless of both East and West may choose to sneer in derision at these truths, but the God-fearing of all nations know that therein is to be found the last word in solution of the riddle of peace. No one can successfully challenge the Holy Father's judgment of the present crisis when he resolves it thus:

"The mystery of Easter proclaims to you, today as always, the mystery of life which triumphs over death, on condition that life draws from God its law and destiny. Lived in defiance of God or in ignorance of Him, any human life, however notable for accomplishment and power, is like a

mere flash of lightning, which no posthumous memory is capable of re-ekindling; such a life is destined, beyond the grave, unto the resurrection of Judgment (John, v, 29). But every humble life, if lived in God, is the seed of heavenly glory; it is a perennial symphony which death does not bring to an end but rather elevates to the sublime; and on earth, where all things are passing, it is a herald of immortal life.

"In the meantime, in expectation of future glory, it is incumbent upon you now to perform works that lead unto life and not unto death. Spread everywhere the life-giving waters you have drawn from Christ as the source. Communicate their fresh richness to your brethren, surrounded by the darkness of error; direct its flowing streams into the world of today, which still continues, sick and enfeebled, on the deadly paths of hatred."

Sensing that the magnitude of the task of laboring for peace might tend to overwhelm good people, the Pope adds these words of practical counsel:

"We know that you wish to be the leaven of life, but we fear that the result of prolonged continuation of the same struggles and repetition of the same trials may overcome you with discouragement.

"Allow your father and pastor to put you on guard against such threats. We would wish that the voice of the Easter bells should bring to you, together with joy, peace and fraternal love, also this great warning: The danger of today is the weariness that afflicts the good! Shake off torpidity in all its forms; resume the practice of your accustomed virtue."

"The danger of today is the weariness that afflicts the good." A more timely warning could not be given at this time. Millions of souls are being sorely tried amid the current stress and strife. The fatherly words of our Supreme Shepherd should bring solace to troubled minds. The growing hunger for peace must inspire moral living; it must not lead to fatalism or frustration.

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The United States population was 158,848,000 on March 1, the Department of Commerce estimated. That is a gain of 191,000 for February and 2,651,000 for the year since last March 1.

### *Importance of Lay Action*

"**I**F ALL THINGS ARE to be restored in Christ, the work will have to be done, in the main, by the laity," said Archbishop Richard J. Cushing to the delegates attending the Thirty-third Annual meeting of the National Council of Catholic Men in St. Louis, April 10-12. Echoing the same thought, Archbishop Joseph E. Ritter of St. Louis, host to the meeting, expressed himself thus in his address of welcome: "I do not exaggerate when I tell you that the Church in our country is not in the hands of the Bishops, but in the hands of you, the laymen of the country."

These two outstanding prelates were but re-laying to our American Catholics the teachings of the Popes, especially those of the past century, who have repeatedly declared that the salvation of society is impossible without the action of the laity. This is not a new idea; the Church never was conceived as a semi-atrophied organism with an active clergy and a dormant laity. By very reason of its corporate nature, so beautifully explained by St. Paul in his doctrine of the Mystical Body, every part of the Church has its own proper function. It is inconceivable, therefore, that the Church in any age achieve her mission of sanctifying society without the active participation of the laity, especially in view of the lay person's greater contact with the world at large.

It is most heartening, therefore, to see our bishops giving ever greater and repeated emphasis to the duty of Catholic lay action. In time the desired results must be forthcoming. However, it is our conviction, born of experience, that the right kind of lay action—constructive, resourceful and prudent—will remain in the offing as long as we have so little lay initiative. Hence we would like to see a sense of responsibility cultivated

in our men and women; for only a consciousness of duty will beget initiative. Admittedly this is not easy. If our people realized the nature and seriousness of the task confronting the Church in this twentieth century, a sense of responsibility would be born in many a generous lay soul. For this reason we should dwell on our world-responsibility, which is also our world-opportunity, in print and in sermons and addresses. The complacency which makes for such widespread inaction is, to a great extent, born of ignorance of the true state of affairs in the world. It is this ignorance which must give way to knowledge if there is ever to be inspired and intelligent lay action.

Resolutions and statements of principles on modern problems do much to acquaint our laymen with the world scene, at the same time giving proper orientation to their thinking. The NCCM adopted twenty-four resolutions at its St. Louis meeting, over half of which were devoted to issues of the day. Those deserving special study are on immigration, international cooperation, internationalization of Jerusalem, the suffering Church, the head of the family, the religious home, parochial schools and indecent literature.

Americans, with their penchant for action, are loathe to study and reflect. We have heard many decry such resolutions as so much verbiage, whereas the "need is for action." The strange, or perhaps not so strange, truth is that those who refuse to discuss and read resolutions are also the most active ones. They really have no reason for action because they know not the issues of the time. We hope the day will soon dawn when Catholics will become more interested in the study and discussion of social problems. The day of genuine Catholic lay action will then be upon us.

### *Religion and Psychiatry*

**A** SHORT TIME AGO Pope Pius XII delivered a 3,500 word address to the Fifth International Congress on Psychotherapy and Clinical Psychology, attended by delegates from fourteen countries including the United States. Great importance attaches to this address, which was vastly more than a cordial word of formal welcome and encouragement to the assembled scientists. The Holy Father took the occasion to enunciate certain principles which must guide psychologists

and psychiatrists in their highly important and at times extremely delicate contacts with human beings. Anyone having only a casual acquaintance with the growing practice of psychotherapy in our day must be profoundly impressed with the timeliness of the directions and admonitions given by the Holy Father.

His Holiness, by way of a general principle governing all psychiatric practice, said that the role of religion and of man's soul must be remembered as outlining the "fundamental attitude which is imposed upon the Christian psychologis-

and psychotherapist." As specific points warranting caution in modern psychiatric practice, the Pope mentioned these: excesses and defects in psychoanalytical treatment of inhibitions, the harmful overestimation of knowledge in the field of sexual education, the treatment of guilt complexes and the safeguarding of secrets.

As far as knowledge in sexual matters is concerned, the Holy Father found grave excesses present in modern attempts to "treat" aberrations in sex by liberating the ego of its inhibitions through "complete sexual initiation, which would not pass over anything in silence, leave nothing in obscurity." It is precisely this reasoning which governs the misguided proponents of sex education in our schools who are influenced by modern amoral psychology. The defects in this system are no less harmful than the excesses. After mentioning the fact that there is a true and efficacious sexual education which imparts necessary knowledge with safety, calmness and objectivity, the Pope notes the deficiency of much modern instruction in this field when he says that "the accent must be placed principally. . . upon self-mastery and religious training."

Closely allied with maintaining the dignity of the human person is the safeguarding of secrets. The Pope was particularly emphatic in stressing the necessity of discretion on the part of both the doctor and the patient. The sanctuary of the human conscience must not be violated by scientific prurience. "There are secrets," said the Holy Father, "which must, on no account, be divulged, even to a doctor, even in spite of grave personal inconvenience. Special reference was made to the secrets of the confessional which, of course, are

absolutely inviolable as far as the confessor is concerned, and which in charity should be withheld by the penitent also.

Much mischief is being done to souls today through rationalizing moral guilt. A sense of guilt is by no means always purely subjective and psychological. Normally a sense of guilt is the working of the human conscience, given by the All-Holy and Benevolent Creator to enable man to attain the goal of his existence. Hence the means of rectifying a guilty conscience consists primarily in "contrition and sacramental absolution by the priest."

Psychotherapy is capable of achieving much good in behalf of suffering humanity. Its real progress must not be impugned. However, because it touches so directly man's nobler nature and is concerned with human conduct, it must work within the moral law and under the necessary influence of religion. Otherwise it becomes an instrument of mischief capable of doing untold harm.

The role of the Catholic psychiatrist is certainly one of supreme importance today. With his knowledge of moral and religious principles, he, as no one else, is in a position to save the science from an evil fate. It is gratifying, therefore, to note that Catholic psychiatrists in our country, in order to increase their effectiveness, have formed an association. The Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists, organized in Detroit in 1949, is scheduled to convene for its annual meeting in Los Angeles, May 2-5. The Guild has enjoyed somewhat of a rapid growth in numbers thus far. We join its members in the hope that its influence will grow apace.

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We are moved to remind you and all Catholics, yet again, that you must from the outset of the new social structure stop at the clearly delineated limits of the Catholic social teaching, without deviating to either right or left. A deviation of but very little from that line might perhaps seem at first of little moment. A wider view makes it plain that it would be dangerous to depart from the right road with all the difficult consequences that would follow. Calm thinking, self-control, firmness against the allurements of the extremists, shall henceforward be the watchword of the day.

POPE PIUS XII to the  
1952 Austrian "Catholic Day"

On April 6 the United States announced a grant to Yugoslavia of an additional \$11,000,000 in emergency drouth aid relief funds in the hope it will tide the country over until this year's crops are harvested.

The new grant brings the total of relief aid from the United States since the beginning of the fiscal year to \$31,000,000. Other assistance in that period, chiefly for defense purposes, has swollen the American program to \$107,000,000.

James Killen, chief of the Mutual Security mission in Belgrade, said he hoped Yugoslavia will be able to stand on its own feet economically by mid-1954.

# SOCIAL REVIEW

## *New Catholic Daily for Germany*

A RECENT RELEASE of the NC News Service announces that Archbishop Wendelin Rauch of Freiburg has approved plans to found a Catholic daily in the area under his jurisdiction. He has asked his flock to support the project materially and spiritually.

In a pastoral letter, the Archbishop pointed out that, up to 1933, there was a flourishing Catholic press in Germany, which Hitler abolished. For several years after the war, the occupying powers granted licenses only for the publication of so-called "neutral" papers.

"Many Catholics saw no danger for the freedom of the Church to spread her teachings, since the neutral press reports also about religious events and, occasionally, even prints an article dealing with some religious issue," the Archbishop said.

"However, history and present-day experience demonstrate sufficiently that this kind of neutral press is not prepared to go beyond mere reporting and is not willing really to advocate the Catholic cause. This is particularly the case when political conditions change and forces come to power that lack the religious issues. Then, the lack of a Catholic press really becomes evident. But then it is too late to do something about it."

There are at present three specifically Catholic papers in Germany—in Bamberg, Augsburg and Regensburg. In addition, there are a considerable number of dailies which support editorially the Christian Democratic Party. This party is not a "Catholic party" in the strict sense of the word, although the great majority of those supporting it with their vote are Catholics.

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## *Bolivian Bishops' Social Reform Program*

A BROAD AND well-thought-out program of social-reform activities has been recently inaugurated in Bolivia with the active support of the bishops of that country. The program includes the establishment of schools for leaders in the labor and rural life movements, at which the principles enunciated in the social encyclicals will be studied with a view to their application to the Bolivian scene. At the same time, some very positive efforts are contemplated for strengthening the country's Catholic press.

The school for farm leaders operates in Cochabamba, where the hierarchy held a subsequent meeting. It is one of the most important com-

mercial and agricultural centers of the country. The school for trade-union leaders is in Potosí, heart of the mining district. Both schools are of an experimental nature and will concentrate for the present on three-month courses to give those enrolled a sound grasp of the principles underlying the Catholic social apostolate.

The bishops meanwhile established a movement to help farmers. It will be under the direction of Fr. Julio Tumiri Javier, widely-known promoter of farm cooperatives and former national deputy. A recommendation to launch this movement was made at a meeting of Catholic Action leaders held at Oruro last November.

Another important project authorized by the bishops was the recruitment of Catholic laymen under the direction of spiritual counsellors and Catholic Action leaders, to make periodic visits to towns and villages where they will organize retreats and hold lectures and meetings, all aimed at making Catholic social teachings better known and understood.

A further decision made by the bishops called for endowing the weekly newspaper, *Presencia*, published at La Paz by a group of laymen. They seek to make it more effective and give it wider distribution as a means of guiding public opinion on social questions. Several dioceses have already started contributions to help defray the cost of new machinery needed to enlarge the size and scope of the Catholic weekly.

If plans work out, the bishops intimated, *Presencia* may even become a daily. The newspaper is comparatively young, but has already attracted widespread attention because of its sound and balanced evaluations of problems affecting both the religious and social life of Bolivia.

All these measures are in line with a declaration last September in which the archbishops and bishops, meeting at Tarija on the occasion of a Diocesan Eucharistic Congress, asserted that the Catholic Church "is in categorical opposition to the social reform proclaimed by atheistic Communism."

Issued during events which disclosed what appeared to be a thinly-disguised all-out Communist offensive aimed at Bolivia's religious, social and economic life, the bishops' declaration warned that "the doctrinal principles of Marxism negate all the spiritual values and ethical standards that are the base of Christian civilization." It said that Communist "reform" preached "class hatred, denied the rights of private property, refused to recognize constituted authority, and could only reduce the nation to chaos."

## Philippine Pastoral—"A Time to Speak"

THE PHILIPPINE HIERARCHY has taken full-page paid advertisements in seven Manilla daily papers to publish its joint pastoral letter indicting three senior education officials of the government.

The pastoral, written to all members of Catholic Action in the Philippines, was entitled "A Time to Speak." It declared that the Bishops had "evidence of the most serious kind" that Secretary of Education Cecilio Putong and the director and assistant director of public schools "have been since 1949 members of a secret committee for the elimination of religious instruction in public schools, organized by the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of the Philippine Islands."

The *Sentinel*, national Filipino Catholic weekly, had recently published a photostatic copy of the Masonic document showing the existence of the committee and the membership of the three education chiefs on it.

The Bishops' pastoral letter was an explanation of the stand of the Church in demanding that the trio be removed from office, declaring that such men could not faithfully discharge their duties to the Catholic majority in the Philippines.

The pastoral—the first published in such a way in the Philippines—ran as a full-page advertisement in the one Tagalog and six English dailies.

## Unhappy Pensioners

AN EDITORIAL in the April issue of *The Catholic Sentinel* of Portland, Oregon, calls attention to the unhappiness that marks a large percentage of people in the U. S. who have retired on pensions. It states: "A survey of retired former workers of New York City reveals that 41 per cent of them are not happy in their present way of life. The two main causes seem to be inadequate income and the desire to work. Many of them have had to accept a lower living standard after retirement; it was noted that some pay more than 50 per cent of their retirement allowances for rent only, while the average was reported as 40 per cent."

The editorial concludes with a suggestion with which one finds it difficult to disagree: "It seems clear that many aged people do not like to be idle and that society is losing an opportunity in not capitalizing on their energies, experience and abilities. This should, of course, be done without putting them in competition with those who are younger and who have dependents. The rapidly increasing number of the aging makes this problem the more acute."

## Full Diplomatic Ties Between the Vatican and Japan

FULL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS between Japan and the Holy See were established at the Vatican for the first time, when Takajiro Inoue, former private secretary to Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida, presented his credentials as Japan's new Minister to the Vatican, according to the *Catholic Messenger* of April 16.

Diplomatic ties between the Holy See and Japan were established in January, 1952, through an exchange of notes between Japan's Foreign Minister Sadao Iguchi and Archbishop Maximilian de Furstenberg, who had been serving as Apostolic Delegate to Japan since 1949. Archbishop Furstenberg was later named by the Holy See as its first Papal Internuncio to Japan, and in May, 1952, he presented his credentials to Emperor Hirohito.

Minister Inoue was received by Pope Pius XII in the throne room of the Vatican. After voicing his homage to the Pontiff, he was asked by the Holy Father to convey the latter's best wishes to Emporer Hirohito and the Japanese government and people. Following the audience, the Pope invited the envoy into his private library for what Vatican officials described as a "most cordial visit."

Prior to the Japanese surrender in 1945, Japan had been represented at the Holy See by an Envoy Extraordinary, Ken Harada. But this did not establish full diplomatic relations, since the Holy See's representative in Tokyo was an Apostolic Delegate not accredited to the Japanese government. Mr. Harada was recalled to Japan after the surrender, when General Douglas MacArthur instructed the Japanese government to recall all its foreign representatives. Full diplomatic relations between Japan and the Holy See were first proposed about 20 years ago, but strong objections by Buddhist elements caused the plan to be dropped.

Mr. Inoue was originally sent to Rome late in 1951 as chief of the Japanese Overseas Agency, which was converted into an embassy after the signing of the Japanese peace treaty in 1952. His wife is a convert to Catholicism and he has long had Catholic contacts, having during boyhood attended the Gyosei (Morning Star) high school in Tokyo conducted by the Marianists.

A native of Tokyo, Mr. Inoue, 52, studied for a diplomatic career in the Tokyo Commercial University. He held diplomatic posts in Paris, Stockholm, London and Rio de Janeiro before becoming Prime Minister Yoshida's secretary in 1949.

### *Social Action in Montreal*

**F**ARSIGHTED AND ENTERPRISING Paul Emile Cardinal Leger, Archbishop of Montreal, has recently established a Secretariat of Social Action in his See city. The purpose of the secretariat is to assist the various branches of social action through mutual cooperation and exchange of essential information in all matters of Catholic social teaching. It is open to all organizations, including labor and employer unions, educational, press and other agencies interested in the social apostolate.

The secretariat will also serve as a study center. Quarters will be set up for a library and a conference room provided for meetings, conferences and forums.

The director general is Rev. Charles Mathieu, a former student of Louvain University in Belgium. He is now professor of social philosophy at the University of Montreal. Fernand Boisseau, former secretary of the Retail Merchants Association, is serving as secretary at the recently established social action and study center.

### *The Vernacular in Baptism*

**T**HE SACRED CONGREGATION of Rites has issued a decree sanctioning baptismal rites in Italy in the vernacular. Published in *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, official Vatican organ, the decree stated that in the future baptisms in Italy could be performed in the Italian language instead of in Latin.

However, the concession was approved by Pope Pius XII only on condition that the Latin text appears with the Italian version in editions of the Roman Ritual.

A similar concession previously had been extended to the Church in France. Church sources in Rome said the decree resulted from the need for god-parents to be aware of every detail and obligation laid down in the baptismal ceremonies.

### *Social Dangers in France*

**T**HE EVILS OF UNEMPLOYMENT, along with those caused by the severe housing shortage, alcoholism and racial discrimination, were singled out for special condemnation in a statement issued recently by the members of the French Hierarchy. The statement was released shortly after a meeting of the Assembly of Cardinals and Archbishops in Paris.

In regard to unemployment now prevalent in France, the Assembly noted that such a condition is often used by employers as an opportunity to reduce wages and weaken the unions. The im-

morality of such practices was clearly pointed out.

Referring to the housing shortage, the Hierarchy was equally direct in applying Christian principle. "From all those," they said, "who have sums of money at their disposal and who are themselves well housed, the Church demands that they endeavor, even at the price of certain sacrifices, to make gifts and particularly loans to organizations aiding persons who have difficulty in finding the money necessary to build or improve their homes."

The statement was received with enthusiasm, even outside Catholic circles. The prelates' advice has already led to some action by way of remedying the evils pointed out.

### *Usury Where It Hurts Most*

**A** SEMI-ANNUAL REPORT from the Regional Office of the U. S. Bishops' Committee for the Spanish Speaking reveals that a million-dollar-a-year usury business is carried on at the expense of the impoverished Mexicans in Texas. The office has been fighting against "unscrupulous agents who pretend to help the unhappy Mexican victim while reducing him to destitution with outrageous usury."

The report continues: "It is estimated that half of the usurers in this country are now operating in Texas and that their chief prey is the Mexican."

Archbishop Robert E. Lucey of San Antonio is executive chairman of the Bishops' Committee for the Spanish Speaking. About two years ago he urged the establishment of credit unions in all parishes of his archdiocese, a measure which would help greatly to stamp out usury if it were but properly tried.

### *New Institute of Learning for Spain*

**A** N INSTITUTE of Sacred Sciences and Higher Ecclesiastical Studies, to be known as the Angelical Institute, is being established in Madrid under a decree issued by the Spanish government. Members of the Dominican Order will direct the Institute under a board of directors headed by the Spanish Minister of Education.

Courses in canon law, sacred scripture and theology will be taught and research in these subjects will be promoted. It is planned to have a Higher School in Thomistic Studies in which lay university students will be made familiar with the teachings of St. Thomas Aquinas.

*Osservatore Romano*, in announcing the establishment of this institute, stated that its basic aim will be to "overcome the intellectual isolation existing between the lay and ecclesiastical worlds."

# HISTORICAL STUDIES AND NOTES

## THE NINETEENTH CENTURY CATHOLIC CRITIQUE OF THE LIBERAL THEORY OF FREEDOM OF THOUGHT AND UTTERANCE

### VII.

READY IN THE very first volume, the editors of the *Historisch-Politische Blätter* took up the question of moral freedom, freedom of conscience, and political liberty.<sup>175)</sup> Reference to that and other articles in the *HPB* has already been made. (Cf. *SJR*, vol. 45, No. 7, pp. 219, 200) The magazine declares that any comparison between the ecclesiastical rules, which proscribe general freedom to teach and read anything whatever, and political censorship of the press is entirely out of the question. On the contrary, however accepts ecclesiastical censorship should be inclined to reject censorship by the government, since all propositions can be tested and judged only by referring them to the highest and final reasons, which lie in religion, it should be evident that one cannot entrust the State with this task without making it the source of all religion and accepting an established church."<sup>176)</sup>

The Catholic defenders of freedom of the press agree with the defenders of censorship in this, that no one has a right to preach everything to everybody, and that nothing may be spread about that will harm the common good. Nevertheless, under present conditions, (that is, those prevailing at the time the article was published, viz., 1838) Catholics regard freedom of the press as a lesser evil than censorship. Censorship does not make sense if the authority in question does not itself know what is truth. Besides, experience proves that the enemies of religion may publish their atheistic and anti-Christian books and articles unhindered, while Catholics may not defend themselves. Common sense demands "either protection for the Church or freedom for her to protect herself." On the other hand, there is every reason to doubt that freedom of the press will be handled in a less biased manner than censorship. The (then) pending bill, which purports to protect

freedom of the press, provides for surety, restrictions, lawsuits, confiscations, fines, exile, jail and what not, so as to make this freedom a rather doubtful one. "He who would apply the degree of carefulness and versatility needed to escape all those trappings vis-a-vis censorship, would probably soon discover that censorship really allowed him the same amount of freedom, at much less danger, as could be expected from freedom of the press in Germany."<sup>177)</sup> This must not be interpreted to mean that, in a way, Catholics are more on the side of censorship than on that of freedom of utterance. But Catholics must not allow themselves to be confused by the radical shoutings of the Liberals, for the latter have certainly no intention whatsoever of granting the Church that true freedom to which she is entitled.<sup>178)</sup>

In another place in the *HPB*, the fact is stressed that freedom is to be derived from right or law, but not vice versa. Freedom as such does not bestow any rights; all it does is to remove certain limitations in the use of rights that already exist. Only then am I truly and really free, if I need not give account to anyone whatever his name, about the use and enjoyment of my rights, and if no one may act as my mentor with regard to this. If we keep this in mind, then it will become even clearer to us how much hypocrisy there is in a revolutionary Liberalism, which excludes the Church from these freedoms. As regards religious liberty and freedom of conscience, the *HPB* stresses the fact that while everybody doubtlessly has a right, nay even a duty, to worship God, it is wrong to assume God left it to the individual to determine *how* He is to be worshipped, nor can public worship or cult be left entirely to the discretion of the worshippers.<sup>179)</sup>

The same applies to freedom of utterance. It is ridiculous to speak of a right to think, for obviously only God can know and judge our mind and

<sup>175)</sup> *Hist.-Polit. Blätter*, Vol. I, (Munich, 1838), pp. 6-21. For further references to this magazine we will use the abbreviation *HPB*. "Blätter" means leaves, and is, therefore, plural, but we will refer to it as a magazine and use the singular.

<sup>176)</sup> *HPB*, Vol. IX (1842), p. 493.

<sup>177)</sup> *HPB*, Vol. XI (1843), p. 178.

<sup>178)</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>179)</sup> *HPB*, Vol. XXIV, (1849), pp. 253-58.

heart. But the right to utter our thoughts is not so much a matter of course. This much is certain, that it cannot be permissible to *say* whatever one wishes to say, because otherwise one should also be permitted to *do* whatever one feels like doing; for every action has first been in one's mind and every word is speaking one's mind. But if the spoken word is to be effective, it will be more effective the more it is spread, and there can be no doubt that the written word reaches further than the spoken word; the printed still farther than the written, especially as far as incitement to activity is concerned.

The State, with regard to public utterance, must act in a manner similar to its action in relation to food and drugs, weights and measures. Abuse of this duty on the part of the State does not invalidate the principles. "We, therefore, declare in the first place, and without regard for the power of public opinion and of current phrases, that we will never be able to regard actual freedom of the press as such and, on principle, as good and desirable. However, we are ready to acknowledge and to admit its necessity and inevitableness under certain circumstances, even its relative pre-eminence as compared with a bad and perfidious censorship."<sup>180)</sup> The censors usually favor the Liberals, because they either are members of the Liberal Party, or are afraid of it.<sup>181)</sup>

Everywhere, the HPB states, one can observe that the Liberals do not really strive for freedom, but rather desire to substitute the State for the Church. The phrase, "a free Church in a free State," is really a fictitious one. The Liberal doctrine now puts itself in the place of Divine Revelation by pretending to be the infallible gospel according to which all of society must be formed until the end of time, and to which even the Church will have simply to submit as regards doctrine as well as jurisdiction.<sup>182)</sup> Practically everywhere, Liberalism pursues a policy of secularization of the primary schools and of a state monopoly of education.<sup>183)</sup> "What did Liberalism ("liberal" like *lucus a non lucendo*) accomplish with its regulation of Church affairs? Nothing but constraint of freedom for the Church, oppression of consciences, enslavement of minds."<sup>184)</sup>

Ecclesiastical supervision of the university departments (faculties) of theology had been cried in Germany as Roman enslavement of the mind and as undermining of the freedom of science. Yet even the famous Lutheran chaplain in ordinary (court preacher), Adolph Stöcker, the Protestant Cathedral of Berlin, did not hesitate to defend limitation of academic freedom in the field of theology. Stöcker, in a speech in the Prussian House of Representatives, quoted the great Minister v. Stein, who was anything but a religious devotee, but who had once said "that is just as unlikely that one would appoint men who do not recognize the basis of Christianity, viz., the authority of the Bible, to become professors of Protestant theology, as one would make field-marshall-generals in the army of Quakers."<sup>185)</sup> The State which chooses atheists for professors, Stöcker said, digs its own grave. The Catholic Church does demand submission of her professors of theology to her official doctrinal definition, but only on the basis of her divine authority and promised infallibility. Protestantism, however, writes free inquiry and denial of the ecclesiastic *magisterium* on its banner, only to be eventually forced to take refuge from the floods of an all-destructive criticism by turning to a general synod which in turn depends on the good graces of the State minister of education who happens to be in power.<sup>186)</sup>

While the Munich circle that gathered around J. v. Görres and (especially after his death) the *Historisch-Politischen-Blätter* had conservative leanings, the Catholic leaders of Western Germany had, probably due to French influence, more liberal inclinations. The majority of the Catholic representatives of the Frankfort National Assembly of 1848 joined the Liberals in their opposition to the political bureaucracy and the absolute monarchies. However, when the deliberations regarding the Catholic schools and the constitutional rights of the Church began, liberal and conservative Catholics conferred together. While the joint efforts remained unsuccessful in the political sphere (as did those of the Frankfort parliament generally), the controversies of the year 1848 had nevertheless, a stimulating effect on the Catholic movement in Germany.

The Catholic press both expanded and deepened. The national issues were now seen in a clearer light. An important organization, the *Pius Verein*,

<sup>180)</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 573-87.

<sup>181)</sup> HPB, Vol. XL, (1857), pp. 736f; Vol. LXVI, (1865), p. 253.

<sup>182)</sup> HPB, Vol. LXV, p. 546; also Vol. LXXV, p. 366f.

<sup>183)</sup> HPB, Vol. LXXV, p. 495.

<sup>184)</sup> HPB, Vol. LXXVI, pp. 368f.

<sup>185)</sup> HPB, Vol. CXVII, p. 591.

<sup>186)</sup> HPB, Vol. XCVIII, p. 433.

or the protection of the freedom of religion and of the Church, had been founded. The general convention of all Catholic societies in Mainz, October 1848, turned out to be the starting point for the famous Catholic Days, i.e., the annual mass meetings of the German Catholics, which did so much to promote their self-confidence and solidarity. The first convention in Mainz at once took up the Social Question which had become more and more urgent. Bishop W. E. von Ketteler, in his six famous sermons on the great social problems of our time, proclaimed the social mission of the Church. In that very same year Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels had published their *Communist Manifesto*. Yet Ketteler did not direct his attacks against the rising proletarian socialism. Instead, he aimed his first blow at the misuse of the right of property as taught by economic liberalism. He realized, as few before him, that without the "boundless hypocrisy of modern individualism," without bourgeois liberalism there would have been no proletarian socialism.<sup>187)</sup>

Liberalism had, as will be remembered, for decades been the target of papal denunciations. In 1862 Bishop v. Ketteler published his *Freiheit, Autorität und Kirche* (Freedom, Authority, and the Church) which may be looked upon as a grand-scale exposition and critique of the liberalistic *Weltanschauung*. In the introduction to his famous book, the great bishop states that, in spite of the fact that more than half of the population of Germany belongs to the Catholic Church, there is still very little known about Catholicism outside the circle of readers of Catholic newspapers and magazines. It is, he says, as if the non-Catholic daily press has put the Catholic Church under a ban. These papers make it appear as if there are no more principled Catholics. Catholic men and Catholic undertakings are practically ignored. It seems as if, in the opinion of these periodicals, there is no such thing as a wrong committed against Catholics. They take notice of the Church only if some scandal can be reported. These papers and their backers, v. Ketteler states, completely control the localities in which they are published and read, and, it is true, in such manner that one may travel across the country in all directions and never find in any of them an indication that there are Catholics in Germany and that they are very much alive and active.<sup>188)</sup> And all

this sails under the flags of progress, enlightenment, freedom, fraternity, and equality! Yet, v. Ketteler warns, it is always bad procedure to oppose the misuse of something which is in itself true and just, by rejecting it altogether, instead of overcoming evil use by good use.<sup>189)</sup> We should never forget that, as such, liberty, equality, fraternity, progress, etc., "have a sublime, a heavenly, even divine meaning."<sup>190)</sup>

A little later v. Ketteler takes up the question of freedom of conscience. It is with regard to conscience "where again," he says, "the respect which the Church shows for this sanctuary of man, namely his inner freedom, is so brilliantly demonstrated." He reiterates the well-known maxim that the voice of conscience, be it true or false, must always be obeyed.<sup>191)</sup> The Church also teaches, and again "in recognition of man's intellectual freedom and in accordance with the teachings of the holy Apostle Paul, the so-called *rationabile obsequium*, the rational obedience of faith. This also is a freedom of the human mind, but in another, the second main province of man's rational life, viz., the perception of truth."<sup>192)</sup> "It is this twofold freedom, the moral and the rational, which is the essence of human liberty. He who has these freedoms, possesses true human dignity, even if he would lack all other freedoms. He who does not, lacks that dignity, even if he would possess all other freedom and if, in addition, all human honors would be conferred upon him."<sup>193)</sup> Holy Scripture emphasizes the folly of those who aspire after the other, external freedoms while they do not possess true moral freedom.<sup>194)</sup>

Most daily papers of his time, v. Ketteler tells us, took it for granted that freedom of science is unknown to and impossible for Catholics. In 1861, the Protestant University of Königsberg raised the question as to whether it would be expedient and appropriate to appoint Catholic or Jewish professors. One of the liberal members of the faculty answered that while there would be no objection to Jewish instructors, Catholics would be out of the question, because intellectual freedom is non-existent for them. The University of Tübingen, which accepted direction and supervision by the diocesan bishop of its school of Cath-

189) *Ibid.*, p. 1.

190) *Ibid.*, p. 4.

191) *Ibid.*, p. 15.

192) *Ibid.*, p. 17.

193) *Ibid.*, p. 20.

194) *Ibid.*, p. 21.

187) Valmar Cramer, *Staatslexikon*, Vol. III, (Freiburg i. B., 1929), col. 54f.

188) E. v. Ketteler, *loc. cit.*, pp. vi and vii.

olic theology, nevertheless declared that from now on (1857?) "professors of Catholic theology could no longer be regarded as representatives of free science and can, therefore, not remain members of the academic senate."<sup>195)</sup> The odd truth is, however, that it was exactly Martin Luther who taught that human nature, including natural reason, was hopelessly corrupt, while the Catholic Church has always insisted on the basic soundness of the human mind.<sup>196)</sup> Bishop v. Ketteler reminds his readers of the fact that Catholicism has never taught anything but freedom of self-determination in the sense that acceptance of truth must always be by inner consent, and never by external force. But just as moral freedom does not and cannot mean a right to do wrong, neither can freedom of conviction mean a right to accept deliberately error and falsehood. There cannot possibly be a right to espouse and propagate a fallacious religious doctrine. On the contrary, it will always remain the first and foremost duty of man to choose and promote the true religion and devote all his energies to it.<sup>197)</sup> Yet, God would have to deprive man of his highest dignity, if He would withdraw from him the power of choosing what is wrong or false.<sup>198)</sup> Ketteler refers to St. Thomas who applied these principles to the State, concluding that governments, too, must often tolerate some evil in order to avoid still greater harm. (*S.Th.*, II-II, Qu. 10, *art. 2* and *ii*). He also quotes Suarez (*Tract. de fide Disp.* 18 *sect IV*, n. 10), according to whom the infidel must not be forced by either secular or ecclesiastical authority to give up his system of worship, if these cults do not contradict natural reason.<sup>199)</sup> From all this, Bishop v. Ketteler draws the following conclusions:

1. Faith is a matter of free will;
2. The spiritual authority of the Church is, like any temporal power, limited. (It is a fundamental mistake of our time and of many of our best and most kindly disposed men to expect salvation predominantly from the use of external measures.)
3. The supreme spiritual authority of the Church applies only to her members and, it is true, to the extent that Christ has entrusted her with it.

<sup>195)</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 23-24.

<sup>196)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 25.

<sup>197)</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 132-33.

<sup>198)</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 136-37.

<sup>199)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 139.

4. The State, since it has its own specific ends, is relatively autonomous in the exercise of its temporal powers. "The secular power has, therefore, neither itself the authority to force non-Christians to embrace the Christian faith, which belongs to the supernatural sphere, nor can the Church transfer this authority to the State, since she herself does not possess it."
5. There are natural limits to freedom of religion: The temporal powers cannot allow, but rather must resist, such religious teachings and cults which openly defy the law of reason and morality.<sup>200)</sup>

According to these principles, the Church grants to the infidels full freedom of religion, as F. Guizot in his *L'Église et la société chrétienne en 1861* (ch. 7) had demanded it.<sup>201)</sup> At first sight, this seems not to be in keeping with the practice of both Church and State in the Middle Ages as regards heretics.<sup>202)</sup> Yet, v. Ketteler argues, one must not forget that the heretic is one who has been validly baptized, but who, in spite of prior sufficient instruction, obstinately insists on, and adheres to, his error.<sup>203)</sup> The attitude of the true heretic betrays deliberate resistance to lawful authority rather than a genuine conflict of conscience. There is, therefore, an important difference between those who err and those who resist known truth. As long as the unity of faith was preserved, heresy could justifiably be regarded as a civil crime, because the Church was a strong pillar of society and he who endangered or disturbed the faith of his fellowmen endangered civil society as well.<sup>204)</sup> While the Church retains the right to punish those who are her members through faith and baptism, heresy can now, that is, after the unity of faith has been destroyed, no longer be punished by civil authority as a crime against society.<sup>205)</sup> Even ecclesiastical penalties are inflicted not in order to obtain consent by force, but as an earnest warning and a means of correction.<sup>206)</sup>

(To be concluded)

DR. FRANZ H. MUELLER  
St. Paul, Minn.

<sup>200)</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 143-44.

<sup>201)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 145.

<sup>202)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 146.

<sup>203)</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 146-47.

<sup>204)</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 149-50.

<sup>205)</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 151-52.

<sup>206)</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 15-53.

# Book Review

## Received for Review

manovich, Clement S., Ph.D.: *Social Theorists*. Bruce Publishing Co., Milwaukee. \$6.50.

Grath, Sr. Mary Evodine, O.S.F.: *The Role of the Catholic College in Preparing for Marriage and Family Life. A Dissertation*. Catholic University of America Press, Washington. \$1.75.

ldmark, Josephine: *Impatient Crusader*. University of Illinois Press, Urbana, Ill. \$3.50.

the Easter Vigil: *National Liturgical Week*, Cleveland, Ohio, 1952. The Liturgical Conference, Elsberry, Mo. \$2.00.

lfen, Rev. Mathias: "His Lips were Sealed." A play in Three Acts. Catholic Dramatic Movement, P. O. Box 1336, Milwaukee 1, Wis. 75c per copy.

zgerald, Harold Kenneth, M.S.S.W.: *Education for Public Welfare Administration*. Vol. No. I. Abstract of a Dissertation. Catholic University of American Press, Washington D. C. 50c.

## Review

Ketter, Rev. Peter, D.D., *Christ and Womankind*. Trans. by Isabel McHugh. The Newman Press. 1952. 446 pages. \$5.00.

MODERN FEMINISM is not doing justice to woman, though it has procured for her recognition of a satisfactory legal status, assured her of a decent social position and won for her access to all kinds of gainful employment. Many freedoms are now enjoyed by woman of which in the past she was deprived, political jobs are dangled before her eyes as reward for party loyalty and activity; in the country's defense—she plays a significant part, and military ranks, in which she can disport a rather attractive uniform, are open to her. It is questionable, however, whether in this new world, which certainly no longer can be called a man's world, woman has found herself and her soul, and whether in it she is able to reach her full human nature. Feminism has been too much concerned about externals and striven for things which, when acquired, are found not to be worth having after all. This, of course, is a mistake we all make: we do not only want the wrong things but most of the time we do not even know what we want. And so what happens to all of us has also happened to the standard-bearers of feminism, who have misjudged the deeper aspirations of woman and set before her aims which fail to satisfy. The gravest blunder of feminism consisted in demanding the right of woman to the child, irrespective of marriage, because thereby woman's worth and dignity were placed not in the personality of woman herself, but made dependent on something else. Thus woman was reduced to a means as she had always been considered in paganism, which could only think of her as a sex being. Christianity has completely reversed the value judgments of paganism and based the dignity of woman on her own personality. To show this translation of values is the purpose of Dr. Ketter's scholarly work which

offers a penetrating exegesis of the letter as well as the spirit of pertinent New Testament texts. The influence of Christianity on the improvement of human conditions is nowhere as evident and striking as in what it has accomplished for the betterment of woman's position. To be appreciated, the change which Christianity has wrought must be seen against the background of the depravity of pagan society. The first part of the volume, hence, gives us a sketch of the bitter humiliations suffered by woman before the advent of Christianity. It is a picture of unrelieved gloom.

The second part shows how Christianity effected the redemption of woman by the recognition of her religious personality, the assertion of her equality with man before God and the moral law, the declaration of the indissolubility of marriage, the sanctification of married life and the home, the protection and ennobling of motherhood. With singular aptness the author calls these reforms Christ's gifts to woman; for while they benefited society as a whole, they came as special blessings to her and rescued her from the lowest depths of degradation. The crowning gift of Christ to woman, however, is that of consecrated virginity, since this establishes her as a person in her own right, dedicated and related directly to God. Virginity has brought untold blessings to humanity and proved the salt that prevents the corruption of married life. Our de-Christianized times have lost the appreciation of this wonderful ideal with disastrous results for moral life. Perhaps even Catholic circles have not kept themselves entirely free from such pagan infiltrations, since the Holy Father deemed it necessary to admonish preachers to emphasize more strongly the excellence of dedicated virginity. What the author writes of woman and the Holy Eucharist is of surpassing beauty, and breathes the profoundest spirituality.

In the third section the author paints charming pictures of individual women in the life of Christ.

The book deserves serious and devout study. It will convince the honest reader that Christianity offers woman a richer life, a higher degree of self realization, and a fuller measure of happiness than does modern feminism. This should not surprise us, for Christ knows our nature and what it requires better than we do ourselves.

The American reader may find it somewhat odd that all the bibliographical references are to German publications. The translation is quite fair.

RT. REV. C. BRUEHL, PH.D.  
St. Charles Seminary  
Overbrook, Penn.

## Book Note

A new edition of the Roman Missal has been published by the Vatican Polyglot Press, and the first copy has been presented to the Holy Father. The rubrics remain unchanged except in quite minor points, but the psalms are quoted in the new version.

# THE C. V. AND THE CENTRAL BUREAU

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*Social Justice Review* (indexed in the *Cath. Periodical Index* and the *Cath. Bookman*) is published by the Central Bureau.

Communications concerning the Central Verein should be addressed to the General Secretary, Albert A. Dobie, 95 Carleton, Hamden 14, Conn.

All correspondence intended for either *Social Justice Review* or the Central Bureau, all missions gifts, and all monies intended for the various projects and funds of the Central Bureau should be directed to

Central Bureau of the Central Verein  
3835 Westminster Place, St. Louis 8, Mo.

Reports and news intended for publication in *Social Justice Review* should be in the hands of the editor not later than the 18th of the month preceding publication.

## OFFICIAL

THE SECRETARIES OF SOCIETIES affiliated with the Central Verein will shortly receive the official call to the 98th general convention which will assemble in San Antonio, Texas, July 18-22. The invitation reads as follows:

TO THEIR EMINENCES, TO THE MOST REV. ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS, THE RIGHT REV., VERY REVEREND, AND REVEREND FATHERS, OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF THE CATHOLIC CENTRAL VEREIN OF AMERICA:

Countless millions in Europe and Asia today are unable to publicly profess the Faith of their fathers. They are denied the comforts of our Holy Religion, of the Mass, the Sacraments; they are denied all those freedoms which we hold dear, and which are an integral part of our Christian heritage—freedom of conscience, and freedom to spread the truth. Their homes have ceased to be their castles; their churches have become the property of a tyrannous state; yet they remain steadfast and true to the Faith of their fathers. These millions have been called by our Holy Father, "the Church of Silence."

Many of them languish in an unknown jail, nameless and forgotten. Many are suffering a living martyrdom, friendless and alone. Many have already made the supreme sacrifice as present-day witnesses of their Christian Faith after horrible tortures and unjust trials. All of them are the abject victims of atheistic materialism.

Fortunately for us, we do not have to sustain such fearsome trials as the members of "the Church of Silence." We are free to practice our Faith, free to disseminate the truth, for the present, at least.

The virus of the same materialism, however, afflicts our own beloved country. They are constantly active, those who would keep God out of our government, our schools, our homes.

That is why our societies must meet in annual convention, to protect our God-given rights, to give utterance and support to those principles which we cherish. We meet, affirming our fealty and loyalty to the Holy Father and to our Bishops, as befits members of societies devoted to Catholic Action.

This year our loyal affiliates of San Antonio and of the Catholic State League of Texas have graciously invited us to convene on July 18th.

We are hopeful that every affiliated organization will send a delegate to join with us and aid our liberations. Great is the need for zealous leaders to guide our membership and to help create a Christian public opinion on the issues of the day. What saintly members of "the Church of Silence" would give for such an opportunity to meet, to deliberate, to guide others and to help create a Christian public opinion! Is this not a matter of conscience for all of us?

"Today, as never before, the hour has come for reparation, for rousing the conscience of the world from the heavy torpor into which the drugs of false id

deley diffused, have sunk it." (Pius XII, 1942 Christmas Message.)

Praised be Jesus, Mary and Joseph!

BERT J. SATTLER  
President

ued at New Haven, Connecticut  
April 10, 1953

ALBERT A. DOBIE  
General Secretary

## Proposed Amendments to the CV Constitution

IN ACCORDANCE with the provisions of Article XIV of the Constitution of the Catholic Central Verein of America, which stipulates that all proposed amendments shall be submitted in writing to the General Secretary at least ninety days before the convention, and that the General Secretary shall cause said amendments to be published in our society's official organ at least sixty days prior to the annual convention, we herewith publish two proposed amendments submitted for consideration at our San Antonio convention, July 18-22.

Amend Article VII—BOARD OF DIRECTORS, which now reads as follows:

"There shall be a Board of Directors of fifteen members consisting of the President, the General Secretary, the Treasurer, the Director of the Central Bureau of this Association, the Chairman and Secretary of the Committee on Social Action and nine members at large to be elected pursuant to the provisions of the By-Laws.

Said Board of Directors shall exercise such powers and perform such duties in such manner and under such conditions as may be prescribed by the By-Laws."

### TO READ AS FOLLOWS:

"There shall be a Board of Directors of sixteen members consisting of the President, 1st-Vice President, the General Secretary, the Treasurer, the Director of the Central Bureau of this Association, the Chairman and Secretary of the Committee on Social Action and nine members at large to be elected pursuant to the provisions of the By-Laws.

Said Board of Directors shall exercise such powers and perform such duties in such manner and under such conditions as may be prescribed by the By-Laws."

Amend Article XI—FUNDS, by making the following addition:

Any person contributing a sum of money of \$100.00 or more in one complete payment during his lifetime, or by bequest after death, to the Catholic Central Verein of America, whether specified for any particular purpose or not, should have his name automatically inscribed, if living, on the Life-Membership Roll, and, if deceased, in the In Memoriam classification.

## Prelate to Preach at San Antonio Convention

THROUGH THE KIND generosity of the Most Reverend Ordinary of San Antonio, Archbishop Robert E. Lucey, the forthcoming 98th general convention of the Central Verein will be officially opened with a Solemn Pontifical Mass. This Mass, which the Archbishop himself will celebrate, will be offered in the historic San Fernando Cathedral on Sunday, July 19, at 9:30 A.M.

The convention will be further honored by Bishop Thomas K. Gorman, Auxiliary of Dallas, who has graciously accepted the invitation to preach at the Pontifical Mass. This is but another of the many indications of the deep interest Bishop Gorman has in our cause. Our Texas affiliates in the Catholic State League have long since found in the Auxiliary Bishop of Dallas a staunch friend for whose valued patronage they are profoundly grateful. The local convention committee is to be congratulated on its good fortune in securing the services of Bishop Gorman for the national meeting.

## Special Lodging Arrangement in San Antonio for Clergy and Youth

"WE ARE INTERESTED in perpetuating the work of our organization. An investment in the younger generation will prove very worthwhile towards this end. We think it would be fine if our members would bring the whole family to the convention."

This statement in the April issue of *The Catholic Layman*, official organ of the Catholic State League of Texas, is meant to be something more than an idle wish. To make it financially possible and practicable for the young people to accompany their parents to San Antonio for both the State and national conventions, some very plausible arrangements have been made for housing the youngsters. Free lodging for the boys will be provided at St. John's Seminary, while accommodations on a similar basis will be given the girls at Ursuline Academy.

The clergy and religious have also been given special consideration in the convention plans. Lodging for the clergy and male religious will be furnished gratis in the new dormitory building of St. Mary's University. The institutions providing these facilities will be compensated by the local convention committee.

We hope that this magnanimous gesture on the part of our San Antonio friends will result in a large number of young people and clergy registering for the convention. Certainly they have been given a very tangible inducement.

## New Life Member

WE ARE HAPPY to report the acquisition of a new Life Member in the person of Aloysius J. Loeffler of New Ulm, Minn. Mr. Loeffler, a quiet but very effective worker in both the national and Minnesota CV, attended the last general convention in St. Louis. He becomes Life Member No. 230.

## Convention Calendar

**C** CVA AND NCWU National Conventions: San Antonio, Texas, July 18-22. Convention Headquarters—Gunter Hotel.

Catholic League of Wisconsin and Wisconsin Branch, NCWU: St. Mary's Parish, Fond du Lac, June 5-6-7.

CCV of Connecticut and Connecticut Branch, NCWU: New Britain, June 6-7.

Catholic State League and the NCWU of Texas: San Antonio, July 18-19-20.

CCU of Pennsylvania and the Pennsylvania Branch, NCWU: St. Boniface Parish, Williamsport, August 8-9-10.

CU of Arkansas and Arkansas Branch, NCWU: St. Mary's, Altus, September 5-6-7.

CCV of New York and New York Branch, NCWU: Albany, September 5-6-7.

CCV of Minnesota and Minnesota Section of NCWU: Winona, September 20-21-22.

## Catholic Family Life Elects Officers

**A**T A MEETING of the Board of Directors of Catholic Family Life Insurance, held at the Home Office, 726 N. Water St. in Milwaukee, George H. Wheary, Jr., President of Wheary, Inc., well-known luggage manufacturers, was elected Chairman of the Board. August Springob, Executive Vice-President of the organization, was elected to the Presidency. Adolph Thoma, accountant for the life insurance company during the past thirty-eight years, was elected to membership on the Board of Directors and appointed Secretary.

Both Mr. Springob and Mr. Thoma are active in the Central Verein. The former is a member of the Verein's important Committee on Social Action, of which he is secretary; the latter has been a member of our organization for thirty-five years.

Catholic Family Life Insurance, now in its 85th year, is the oldest Catholic Life Insurance Company in the United States. Its quadrennial convention will be held in November of this year.

## German Papers Needed for Remailing

**R**EV. ANTHONY DES LAURIERS, S.J., Port Chaplain of Halifax, Nova Scotia has written the Central Bureau recently telling of the need of Catholic literature in the German language for immigrants served by him.

"My aim," writes Fr. Des Lauriers, "is to supply all immigrants with Catholic reading, and in a larger sense to give them a paper with the hope that they will continue to read this paper later on. The office at the port is well supplied with papers of other nationalities, but there is no Catholic paper for Germans."

All papers and other publications in the German language may be sent to the Central Bureau or directly to Rev. Anthony Des Lauriers, S.J., St. Joseph's Rectory, 85 Russell St., Halifax, Nova Scotia.

## Hopes for First Papal Seminary in Germany

**M**SGR. ADOLPH KINDERMANN, director of the Albertus Magnus College at Koenigstein, expresses his hope that the institution which he heads will be raised to the status of a papal seminary. Situated in Frankfurt, it was founded especially for expellees.

Dr. Kindermann stated that he has already presented a petition to the Holy See to have the Koenigstein seminary raised to papal status. Thus far the Vatican has taken no action. If the request is granted, Albertus Magnus will become the first papal seminary in Germany. At present there are only twenty-one papal seminaries outside Rome, and only five outside Italy. A papal or pontifical seminary is one directly dependent on the Holy See.

Dr. Kindermann and his college are no strangers to the Central Bureau. We have had the satisfaction of assisting Albertus Magnus in several ways in past few years, particularly by providing books for seminary library.

## Fifty-One Years of Service

**I**T IS UNDER THIS CAPTION, Mr. John P. Pfeiffer, Grand Secretary, recently issued a financial report of the Catholic Life Insurance Union of Texas. The report reveals what Mr. Pfeiffer very aptly terms "splendid progress." His statement, appearing in April *Catholic Layman* says in part:

"The increase in membership in 1952 is 775, while the insurance in force increased \$1,015,857.00 and assets increased \$299,124.20.

"A review of our statement will disclose that since December 31, 1945, our membership has increased from 9,013 to 16,772, a total of 7,759 members. Our insurance in force has increased from \$6,356,560 to a total of \$14,110,315.00 or an increase of \$7,755.00. Assets increased from \$798,251.28 to \$2,324,851.96, an increase of \$1,526,600.68.

"One must read the statement and analyze the same in order to grasp the outstanding growth of this organization. In 1935 there were only 1,071 members so that the increase for the seventeen years is approximately 1,000 new members per year. The total insurance in force at that time was \$892,500, while now there is \$14,110,315.00 or an increase of approximately \$13,000,000.00. Assets were then \$294,062.44 and now aggregate \$2,324,851.96. In other words, the increase in assets since January 1, 1936, is more than \$2,000,000.00. Another way of looking at it is to point out that the total assets on January 1, 1952, were less than the increase in assets for the year 1952.

"It is a source of gratification for us to realize that while our growth has not been by leaps and bounds, it has been steady and persistent and that through these eighteen years, we have forged steadily ahead many other organizations who at that time were much larger than we are today."

## District and Branch Activities

### Arkansas—Central District

THE SPRING QUARTERLY MEETING was held on April 12 at Atkins. Father Francis McKee, pastor of the host parish, extended a word of welcome and discussed on the apostolic work done among non-Catholics by Little Rock seminarians through study courses. The District President, Mr. J. C. Dugan of Little Rock, conducted an open forum on "The State and Our Schools." Most of those present participated in the discussion.

It was announced that the annual convention of the Catholic Union will be held in Altus over the Labor Day week-end.

### Arkansas—Southwest District

The parish hall of St. Boniface in Fort Smith was almost filled to capacity for the last quarterly meeting on April 19. The joint meeting of the men's and women's branches followed Rosary devotions.

The feature of the afternoon was a public speaking contest in which nineteen young people participated. Various subjects for the different age groups were assigned to the contestants who acquitted themselves very creditably. Deserving of special note was the choice of subjects, peculiarly well adapted to the age-groups and the present religious and social needs.

Guest speakers of the program were the Rt. Rev. Abbot Paul Nahlen of Subiaco and Rev. Victor T. Suren, director of the Central Bureau. Father Suren's address stressed the contribution to world order which is made by our laity individually and collectively through virtuous living. Father Abbot, who followed the Central Bureau director, enlarged upon Father Suren's remarks and extended their application.

President Adams reminded the delegates that the convention of the State Union at Altus was in the Southwest District and should draw a large number of delegates from that section.

### Kansas

"Marshal Tito and his regime are more communistic than Malenkov and the Russian regime," Rev. Ivan Lavrih told an inter-parochial meeting of the Catholic Union of Kansas assembled at St. Mark's on April 19. Father Lavrih escaped from his enslavement in Yugoslavia and is the lone survivor of 800 prisoners who were incarcerated with him. He gave a very graphic description of the persecution to which the Church is being submitted in Titoland. His address was very well received.

After the evening's lecture the delegates heard a report of the recent benefit social which enabled the Catholic Union to distribute \$511.00 to each of its special projects: Sacred Heart School at Eureka, St. Joseph church at Greensburg and the Central Bureau in St. Louis.

### St. Louis and County

Thirty-four delegates were present at the monthly meeting at Holy Cross hall on March 29. After the parish reports, President Herman Kohnen appealed for

financial help for the Young Ladies District League, which is engaged in teaching English to displaced persons. The meeting voted that such assistance be given.

A report on the clerical clothing drive, April 19-26, was made by the chairman, Mr. Arthur Hanebrink.

The most attractive feature of the afternoon was a lecture by Msgr. Martin B. Hellriegel, pastor of Holy Cross, on the Liturgy of Holy Week. The Monsignor is an internationally recognized authority on the Church's Liturgy and has always been an ardent friend of the Central Verein and the Catholic Union.

### Texas—Northwest District

Delegates met at Olfen on April 19, with District president, Mr. Ben Frerich, in the chair.

After the local pastor, Rev. Norbert Wagner, welcomed the visitors, Rev. Ralph Dyer, S.M., of St. Mary's University, San Antonio, gave an address on Catholic Action in its relation to the Sermon on the Mount.

A one-act play was staged by the local Children of Mary. Besides the youth groups of affiliated societies, young people from Wall and Rowena were among those present.

### Personalia

ON MARCH 18, Mr. F. Wm. Heckenkamp, Supreme President Emeritus of the Western Catholic Union and a member of the Central Verein Committee on Social Action, sustained an amputation of the left leg below the knee. The surgery was deemed necessary because of an incipient gangrenous condition of the extremities brought on by a diabetic condition.

Mr. Heckenkamp's rugged physical constitution enabled him to pass through his ordeal quite successfully. A recent letter from him indicates that he is well on his way to recovery. We ask that he be remembered in prayer by all CV members who are well aware of our common debt to Mr. Heckenkamp for his devotion to our cause. We hope to see him active again in the near future.

A missionary in South India appeals for Catholic literature. He writes:

I introduce myself as a Catholic interested in spreading good reading among the educated people in my mission in South India. The educated people in India are reading the cheap and easily available communistic literature, mainly because of want of good reading.

I approached the Bishop of Guntur, South India, for some good reading. He gave me some old copies of the *Catholic Digest*, *The Sign*, *Catholic World*, etc. I have circulated these among the non-Catholics in these parts and they are very much appreciated. The Bishop of Guntur has advised me to request you for the used copies of good Catholic periodicals and old books.

## Necrology

MEMBERS OF THE CATHOLIC LEAGUE of Wisconsin, State Branch of the CV, will remember their successful convention in Sheboygan, October 19-20, 1951. Since the Catholic League has followed a policy of biennial conventions, the Sheboygan meeting was its last, the next conclave having been scheduled for June 5, 6 and 7 of this year at Fond du Lac.

What the delegates to the Sheboygan convention will most probably remember with the greatest fondness is the fact that Archbishop Moses E. Kiley of Milwaukee, without solicitation, offered the Solemn Pontifical Mass to open the convention. They will remember too, his words of direction and encouragement, spoken to the assembly after the Mass. If ever a distinguished prelate voiced his endorsement of the Central Verein and its program, it was done on the occasion of the Catholic League's Sheboygan Convention by Archbishop Kiley. Never a person to be profuse in his language, the Archbishop always spoke deliberately and in measured phrases; every word was carefully weighed. For this reason his words of commendation were taken very seriously to heart by the delegates in Sheboygan. They found much in them as a source of great encouragement. They realized anew the value of their work in the lay apostolate, since it bore the stamp of approval of one whose judgment was unimpeachable.

Archbishop Kiley was, indeed, a valued friend of the Central Verein. He attended the last general convention of our organization held in his See City in 1948. Those who were in attendance on this occasion will remember particularly his presence in the company of Cardinal Stritch at the banquet on Monday night. The weather was abnormally hot, the mercury having climbed over the 100 degree mark. He could have very reasonably begged excuse; but he did not. In braving the discomforts of that hot August night he everlastingly endeared himself to Verein members the country over. We have long since come to regard Archbishop Kiley as a real champion of our venerable society. Hence the news of his death on April 15 was received with sadness and deep regret by Verein members everywhere.

Mose Elias Kiley was born November 13, 1876 at Cape Breton, Nova Scotia. He worked in a carriage shop operated by his brothers before entering the College of St. Laurent in Montreal. During his summer vacations while at college, he worked as a motorman.

He entered the seminary at twenty-six and was ordained in Rome, June 10, 1911. He served the Archdiocese of Chicago in pastoral work until 1916, at which time he became supervisor of charities, a position which he held until 1926.

In 1924 he was made a Domestic Prelate and two years later was appointed spiritual director of the North American College in Rome. He was appointed consultant on The Russian Commission in 1929. On February 10, 1934, he was named bishop of Trenton, N. J. His consecration took place in Rome.

When Cardinal Stritch was appointed Archbishop of Chicago in 1940, he was succeeded in the See of Mil-

waukee by Archbishop Kiley. The latter's solemn installation took place on March 28.

The Solemn Pontifical Mass of Requiem was celebrated at St. John's Cathedral by Milwaukee's Auxiliary Bishop Roman R. Atkielski. Cardinal Stritch preached the funeral sermon,

Archbishop Kiley's death in St. Mary's Hospital Milwaukee, where he had been a patient since September last, followed a long period of illness. The deceased prelate had suffered from a heart ailment (R.I.P.)

In the foregoing issue of *SJR* we noted briefly the death of Eugene A. Phillips of Williamsport, Pa. Since publication of our April issue we have received data on the life of Mr. Phillips which enables us to make a tribute more in keeping with the debt of honor due one who was in every sense a zealous and trustworthy lay leader.

Eugene A. Phillips died quite suddenly at his home at the age of fifty-seven. He had held the office of financial secretary of the Catholic Central Union of Pennsylvania, State Branch of the CV, since 1947.

As a member of St. Boniface Church in Williamsport, Mr. Phillips was active in the parish's Holy Name Society, in addition to being prominent in the activities of the Knights of St. George. Besides his pervading interest in Catholic organizations, the deceased found it possible to maintain membership in the Fraternal Order of Eagles, Gesang Verein Harmonia, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen and Garrett Cochran Post No. 1, American Legion. He was a veteran of World War II.

The Solemn Mass of Requiem was offered by Rev. Leo Post, pastor of St. Boniface. Mr. Phillips is survived by his wife Mary and a daughter Barbara. (R.I.P.)

## Miscellany

DUE TO THE KIND GENEROSITY and thoughtful care of some of our priest-friends, the Central Bureau is able to send Mass stipends from time to time to Archbishop Muench. The Archbishop distributes the intentions among the poor priests in Germany. In recent letter of acknowledgement to a priest benefactor in Missouri, Archbishop Muench wrote as follows:

"Fortunately, we are still able to get help to the priests in the East Zone, and so long as this is possible it must be our endeavor to give them to the utmost our moral encouragement. This is given them to a greater extent than I can say in a few words by the Mass offerings that we can put into their hands. For the most part they labor among very poor people."

The Central Bureau continues to help the poor refugees in Germany. The director of the Catholic Refugee Camps for the Archdiocese of Koeln and Paderborn and the Diocese of Aachen and Muenster, in a recent exchange of correspondence, wrote the Bureau as follows:

"Let me thank you for your letters of February 2

1 of March 2, and 18. You cannot imagine how obviously I am waiting the arrival of the packages you announced. All of our camps are overcrowded with refugees from the Eastern Zone who hardly have any clothing on their bodies. So you can see how happy I am to get the parcels with clothing. Also, the paperbooks will be of great help, since these refugees had to leave everything behind. Would have liked to write to you about the activities in our camps but at present I would not know how to begin as time is too short. I shall do so however, as soon as I have caught a little. During the last few weeks I put in ninety hours work every week and mail had to be answered during the nights."

### F. P. Kenkel

*An evaluation of the man, by Joseph Matt, K.S.G., editor of THE WANDERER, and life-long friend and co-worker, on the occasion of the 97th annual convention of the Catholic Central Verein of America at St. Louis, Mo., August, 1952.*

(Continued)

### Social Questions and Central Verein

HOWEVER, AS FAR as our Catholic organizations were concerned, Mr. Kenkel for a long time was an "outsider." As many articles in the *Amerika* prove, he took great interest in their endeavors, successes and failures. Although not a member of any of our societies, he was in full accord with the social program of the Central Verein gradually developing after the annual convention at Bridgeport in 1900 formally incorporated into the constitution, as one of the Central Verein's objectives, "to work for the reconstruction of Society in accordance with the encyclicals of Pope Leo XIII." These encyclicals, including *Rerum novarum*, were at that time smugly ignored in large segments of American Catholics, in the erroneous opinion that they were inconsequential for America since our country had "no Social Question," as the rector of the Catholic University announced in a widely publicized statement. Inspired by these encyclicals, which became the basis of the resolutions adopted at the annual conventions and were the main topics of the speeches of the *Allgemeine Deutsch-Amerikanische Katholikentage*, and following the example of the Catholics in Germany, Austria and other European countries where men like Bishop von Ketteler, Decurtins, Vogelsang, Fr. Weiss, etc., had paved the way for a Christian social reform, the Central Verein became the pioneer of similar endeavors in America.

These endeavors led finally to the appointment of a committee, at the convention in Dubuque in 1907, which was to submit a report to the convention in Cleveland in the following year. This committee consisted of Msgr. George W. Heer and Mr. Nicholas Gonner of Dubuque; Mr. Joseph Frey of New York; Msgr. Joseph Bentgerath and Fr. Joseph Och of Columbus, and myself—the sole survivor. Widening its original scope of action on the basis of an extensive series of articles written by me, reprinted by the entire German Catholic

press and later published under the title *Unsere Rückständigkeit* as the first brochure of the Central Bureau, the committee constituted itself as the CV Committee on Social Action. At my insistence the committee invited Mr. Kenkel, the "outsider," to become a member and, fortunately for our organization, Mr. Kenkel consented and joined us at Cleveland. At the request of the members he submitted to the convention the report and recommendations of the committee "for the education and training of our people for the Catholic movement for the restoration of Society." In the subsequent convention report of the *WANDERER*, F. P. Kenkel was hailed as a *homo novus* in the Central Verein, and at the same time, under the impact of his forceful presentation of the Catholic program, the *WANDERER* report asserted: "Here is the coming leader of the Central Verein."

That meeting marked the beginning of the Central Bureau. What the *WANDERER* had foretold in September, 1908, was fulfilled in steadily increasing measure in the years that followed. From 1908 to 1920 Mr. Kenkel devoted all his spare time—aside from his regular work as editor of the *Amerika*—serving without salary or other material compensation as director of the Central Bureau and editor of the *Central-Blatt (Social Justice Review)*. Following the general convention in San Antonio, Tex., in September, 1920, he yielded to the pleadings of the leaders of the Central Verein and the Committee for Social Action, resigned as editor of the *Amerika*, and from that date onward devoted his full time and efforts to the Central Bureau, at first still in the old modest office in the Temple Building on Broadway, later in the present establishment on Westminster Place.

### Slow Growth vs. 'Progressivism'

There are hardly any words in the English language that moderns find more impressive than the words progress and progressive. Everything is measured with the yardstick of progress and success however ephemeral. Heartily endorsing ideas expressed by the late Cardinal Faulhaber in one of his classical sermons, Mr. Kenkel strongly believed in modest beginnings and slow but organic and steady growth. In his first Central Verein address in Cleveland he said of the work that was planned and proposed by the committee: "Es soll kein Werk sein, das aufschießt wie Schwämme nach einem Gewitterregen, aber ebenso schnell wieder schwindet. Es soll sprossen und wachsen als eine Eichensaat"—It shall not grow and disappear like mushrooms, rather, a strong oak shall rise from the seed we are planting today.

These words epitomize the history of the Central Bureau. As the growing oak tree develops annual rings, so the Central Bureau expanded and added new activities year after year. Even if we consider them merely externally, the array of accomplishments of the forty-four years since the entry of Mr. Kenkel into the Central Verein present a truly imposing achievement. There is, first of all, the Central Bureau itself, housed in a building owned by the Central Verein and including a unique library; then the St. Elizabeth Settlement,

the Missions department; *Social Justice Review* and the Catholic Women's Union's *Bulletin*; the weekly CV Press Service, and in many other activities of the Bureau. A fair appraisal of the achievements—and shortcomings—must take into account the fact that the activities were twice seriously interrupted by wars and, in their wake, the necessity of concentrating on relief work, an assignment explicitly entrusted to the CV after the First World War by the Holy Father, Pope Benedict XV.

### *Pallliatives Will Not Resolve Social Question*

That is the framework which F. P. Kenkel filled with his genius and, above all, his thoroughly Catholic spirit. It was of the spirit of St. Athanasius and St. Augustine, of Goerres and Veuillot, and other great exponents of Catholic thought, clear and unwavering and courageous. Social Justice was for him a program to which he devoted himself loyally and unperturbed by the phrases and slogans of the day. The great Social Question, which in the last decade has reached a climax in the world crisis accentuated, not brought about, by the conflict between East and West, he recognized as the logical result of the false philosophies of the Enlightenment, of Liberalism, Materialism and Secularism, in other words, the apostasy of Society, particularly as represented by the modern State, from the Natural Law and the Revealed Law of God. The disturbances in the social and economic fields in the wake of this apostasy are inevitable concomitants of that rebellion against God and His Law. Surely, these evils must be rectified, but the solution of the Social Question implies much more than piecemeal adjustments.

Accepting the Papal encyclicals in their entirety, Mr. Kenkel unceasingly pleaded for a thorough-going reconstruction of Society. Following in the footsteps of Ketteler, Vogelsang, Weiss, Pesch, and the other great pioneers of Catholic social reform, he disdained all forms of a noisy activism no less than pragmatic programs onesidedly calculated to achieve material improvements without due regard to the prerequisite spiritual reform—as tersely expressed in the words of Blessed Pius X, often quoted and as often disregarded: *Omnia instaurare in Christo*—to restore all things in Christ.

It is due in the first place to Mr. Kenkel's profound influence and the faithful collaboration of men like Archbishop Muench, now Papal Nuncio in Germany, Fr. Engelen, S.J., Fr. Charles Bruehl, Ph.D., Fr. Joseph Wentker, and other associates among the clergy and laity, that a close-knit community of minds has developed across a large section of the country which, adhering to the admonition of Blessed Pius X, has unfurled its own banner of social reconstruction and has thereby saved many serious-minded Catholics from the fatal dangers of sloganizing compromises with the secularism and pseudo-humanism of the age.

It is true, Mr. Kenkel has not achieved great successes in the sense of a materialistic world. But for thousands of conscientious men and women in a confused era he was a tower of strength and a wise and dependable guide and mentor.

(To be continued)

## Acknowledgment of Monies and Gifts Received

*Make Checks and Money Orders Payable to Central Bureau of the C.V.*

*Address, Central Bureau, 3835 Westminster Place St. Louis 8, Missouri*

### Donations to Central Bureau

Previously reported: \$7,175.40; Chas. Morgenthal N. Y., \$1; Catholic Union of Kansas, \$300; Sgt. Mich. Bubick, Va., \$5; Chicago District NCWU, Ill., \$5; Schumacher, Pa., \$7; Hugh Boyle, Pa., \$5; L. Schoenstein, Cal., \$10; St. Boniface Soc., San Joaquin, Cal., \$10; St. Francis Benev. Soc., Oakland, Cal., \$10; Catholic State League of Texas, \$262.80; Henry Gerner, Ind., \$1; Sundry minor items, 50c; Total to and including April 24, 1953, \$7,792.70.

### Christmas Appeal

Previously reported: \$4,122.90; Rt. Rev. M. M. Hogan, Ia., \$5; Br. 5 C. K. of St. G., Pittsburgh, Pa., \$10; St. Aloysius Young Men's Soc., Utica, N. Y., \$10; Rudolph Schick, N. Y., \$2; Mathew J. Post, Sr., \$10; Total to and including April 24, 1953, \$4,159.00.

### Chaplains' Aid Fund

Previously reported: \$469.06; NCWU of New York, Inc., N. Y., \$50; Mrs. Theresa Lampe, Kans., \$2; Francis de Sales Benev. Soc., St. Louis, \$1.40; Total to and including April 24, 1953, \$422.46.

### St. Elizabeth Settlement

Previously reported: \$26,023.89; Greater St. Louis Community Chest, \$800; From children attending \$2,033.99; Interest Income, \$60.30; Total to and including April 24, 1953, \$28,918.18.

### European Relief Fund

Previously reported: \$1,280.00; Catholic Union of Kansas, \$61.72; Miss M. Buggle, Mo., \$25; CAF, \$34.75; Total to and including April 24, 1953, \$1,401.75.

### Catholic Missions

Previously reported: \$9,694.73; N. N. Mission Fund, \$55; NCWU of New York, Inc., N. Y., \$35; Mrs. Catherine Schmidt, N. Y., \$5; Mrs. Mary Filser Lohr, N. Y., \$15; A. J. Loeffler, Minn., \$15; Sisters of the Humility of Mary, Ottumwa, Ia., \$10; Wm. Rose, Mo., \$1; T. Rose, Mo., \$2.50; Miss M. Buggle, Mo., \$25; Mrs. James Costello, Ill., \$10; N. N. Mo., \$465; St. Francis Convent, Springfield, Ill., \$20; Wm. J. Sullivan, Ill., \$20; Sr. Crescentia, Wis., \$20; Total to and including April 1953, \$10,393.23.

### Beuron Appeal

St. Bonaventure Benev. Society, Milwaukee, Wisc., \$18.75; St. John's Society, Elmira, N. Y., \$10; Joseph's Soc., Jasper, Ind., \$5; Total to and including April 24, 1953, \$33.75.

### *Gifts in Kind*

were received from the following men and organizations of men up to and including April 28, 1953.

**ARTICLES FOR CHURCH & SANCTUARY:** Rt. Rev. Leo P. Henkel, Ill., (288 Alabamens, 1 red cope, 1 black chasuble, 1 alb, 1 cassock, 4 cinctures).

**CLOTHING & WEARING APPAREL:** Frank Bangert, Mo., (clothing); Rt. Rev. Msgr. I. P. Henkel, Ill., (clothing).

**BOOKS:** Rev. F. Markert, SVD, Techny, Ill., (German and English books).

**MAGAZINES:** Catholic Knights of St. George, Pittsburgh, Pa., (magazines).

**MISCELLANEOUS:** S. Stuve, Mo., (miscellaneous articles).